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L^d Wm Russell



LETTERS
AND
CORRESPONDENCE,
PUBLIC AND PRIVATE,
OF
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE HENRY ST. JOHN,
LORD VISC. BOLINGBROKE;
DURING THE TIME HE WAS
SECRETARY OF STATE
TO
QUEEN ANNE;
WITH
STATE PAPERS, EXPLANATORY NOTES, AND A
TRANSLATION OF THE FOREIGN LETTERS, &c.

BY GILBERT PARKE, WADH. COLL. OXON.

CHAPLAIN TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE PRINCE OF WALES.

VOL. I.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR G. G. AND J. ROBINSON, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1798.



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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.

MY LORD,

YOUR noble relative, the late Earl of Hardwicke, who, together with other interesting and valuable State Papers, gave the public a specimen of Lord Bolingbroke's Official Dispatches, passed so favourable a judgment upon them, that I was induced to publish the whole of the Secretary's Letters, which, through the kindness of a friend, came into my possession; and your Lordship has given me additional encouragement, in permitting me to prefix your name to the work, judging it may add to the store of History.

I am rather confident, my Lord, that, with regard to the transactions during the ever-memorable four last years of the reign of Queen Anne, it will serve as a faithful

a 3 record;

DEDICATION.

record; and it were to be wished, that our history in general were founded more upon such authorities.

I rejoice, my Lord, in the opportunity now afforded me of testifying my esteem of your character, my veneration of your public conduct, and, particularly, of your zeal to promote the welfare and prosperity of the county, which his Majesty has committed to your care; one remarkable instance of which I was, for a long time, almost a daily witness to; and the successful exertions of your Lordship on that occasion, increased the attachment of your province, and must endear your name to posterity.

I HAVE THE HONOUR TO BE,

MY LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

VERY OBEDIENT SERVANT,

GILBERT PARKE.

London, March 15, 1798.

PREFACE.

P R E F A C E.

MOST readers of the following Papers will be of opinion, that their internal evidence is proof sufficient of their authenticity; but the Editor thinks it his duty to give to the Public all the information he has received respecting them.

When Bolingbroke was dismissed from his office, and fled to France, his Under-secretary, Thomas Hare, Esq. who is often mentioned in his Lordship's Letters, secured these Papers. At that time, Mr. Hare resided in London, and being a younger brother, was possessed of a very small fortune, beside the place of Chief Clerk, Sole Examiner and Register in Chancery, and Clerk of the Crown and Peace in Barbadoes, which offices he held, but whether for life, or dur-

ing pleasure, is not quite certain; one copy of the appointment, in the hands of the Editor, specifying for life, the other during pleasure; the latter is dated June 18, 1714, the former has no date, and, perhaps, was never executed, as the Queen died on the 1st of August following, and it was not probable that the friend of the proscribed Secretary would experience any favour from the succeeding administration. Independent of this place, whatever fortune he possessed was lost in the general calamity originating in the South-Sea Scheme.

His elder brother dying unmarried, he, in 1732, succeeded to the noble estate and seat of his family at Stow-Hall, in Norfolk, and to the Baronetage granted to Sir Ralph Hare, in 1641. Thither he then retired, and the Bolingbroke manuscripts were deposited in the Evidence-house belonging to the estate, where they remained; and, from

the time of his death, in 1760, were little known or noticed.

To the present worthy possessor of the estate, Thomas Hare, Esq. and the descendant of the Under-secretary, the Editor, then residing in the neighbourhood of Stow, expressed his wishes to peruse the Papers, and upon stating his inclination to publish them, Mr. Hare, in the most liberal and polite manner, sent him the whole of the Bolingbroke Papers in his possession.

To this Gentleman he is indebted for many instances of private friendship; and whatever information or instruction his countrymen may derive from the present work, they will attribute to his ready compliance with the wishes of the Editor; a compliance not more the effect of friendship than of his constant desire to be useful to his country; and though, after having de-
dicated

dedicated his younger years to actual service, he had retired to enjoy the ease and affluence left him by his ancestors, and to promote the welfare and happiness of those within his sphere, yet in these times of danger, he is employing his ample means in his country's cause, and at the head of two troops of his associated friends and neighbours, is displaying an example of that pure patriotism, so highly necessary at the present period.

Upon an examination of the Manuscripts, many appeared to be autographs, and the remainder in the hand-writing of Sir Thomas Hare, or of his colleagues in office. They consisted of four volumes of Letters, and very many detached Papers. The first volume contained the Public Dispatches to the Earl of Strafford; the second, the Public and Private Letters to the Marquis de Torcy, with those to and from Mr. Prior; the

the other two, his Public and private Letters to Correspondents in general. The detached Papers consisted of the letters from the Marquis de Torcy, and the entire Correspondence with the Duke of Shrewsbury, together with Memorials, &c.

The Editor has endeavoured to arrange all these in a regular series, and to supply such explanatory Notes as seemed necessary to render characters and occurrences more familiar to the Reader. A Translation of the Foreign Letters was not intended, when the book was ready for the press, from a fear of swelling the work to an inordinate size; but, at the suggestion of a friend, whose judgment the Editor has ever respected, he was induced to alter his plan; and, by printing the work in a smaller letter than that used in the other volumes of Bolingbroke, and by extending the page of letter-press, to give room at the end of each vo-

lume for the Translation of the preceding Letters.

Extracts from the *public* Letters of the Secretary appeared in the Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons in 1715, which formed the ground-work of the impeachment of Oxford, Bolingbroke, Strafford, and Ormond. But these seem to be of no farther use than as they served the purpose of one party in effecting the overthrow of another; in their mutilated state they are of little service to the history of our country, and remain only to record the violence and the prejudice of faction.

The late Earl of Hardwicke inserted in his State Papers four of the *official* Letters of Lord Bolingbroke and Mr. Prior: these, so far as the Editor has been able to learn, are all the Papers in the following Collection that have hitherto appeared in print.

The

The present Publication consists not only of official, but of private Letters of the Secretary ; the general business of that Administration, and his particular sentiments on that business ; the orders and instructions of the Minister, and the confidential communication of the motives for them. In a word, it seems to record the political occurrences and history of Great Britain, from the time Bolingbroke came into office until his supercession by the Regents ; and the reader is not to learn the importance of that period.

Every reader will form his own opinion of these transactions, whether considered separately, or compared with those that went before, or have occurred since ; it would therefore be of no use to detain him longer upon the Chapter of Contents. The Editor will, then, take his leave with observing, that the unrivalled fame of Bolingbroke,

broke, as a political writer, is so established, as almost to ensure a favourable reception ; and as to the share, which the Editor has had in these Volumes, it is of too little consequence to merit animadversion.

ERRATA. Vol. II.

Page	Line	for	read
231	1	De Monsieur	A Monsieur.
291	10	3 ^a Col. admettant	remettant.
335	9	De Monsieur	A Monsieur.
360	13	entredire	interdire.
	30	espérance	expérience.
362	39	Elles	Elle.
	41	opposée	opposées.
448	21	parès	après.
492	3	A Monsieur	De Monsieur.
505	1	ditto	ditto.

ERRATA. Vol. III.

Page	Line	for	read
13	30	Chrétienne	Chrétien.
47	16 ^e 23	dele très Chrétienne.	
137	18	Montleon	Montéleon.
161	16	A Monsieur	De Monsieur.
169	7	De Monsieur	A Monsieur.
187	10	envoyée	envoyées.
215	4	voix	voie.
246	26	Jaye	Jayet.
308	23	ut utriusque	ut trutinatis penitus utriusque.
483	32	refuser	refusé
485	31	ce	ces.
498	16	peur	pour.

ERRATA. Vol. IV.

Page	Line	for	read
161	14	Montigo	Montijo.
193	14	Montigo	Montéleon.
273	20	num defluit	dum defluat.
273	21	œvum	ævum.
286	17	Madame	Monsieur.
316	1	æque	aeque.
480	1	Monsieur	De Monsieur.



LETTERS

AND

CORRESPONDENCE, &c.

A Monsieur de Buys.*

MONSIEUR,

Du Château de Windsor,
ce 13 d'Oct. 1710, V.S.

C'EST avec beaucoup de déplaisir que j'ai reçu, par le canal de Monsieur Drummond, les nouvelles de votre indisposition; j'espère qu'elle fera bientôt passée, et qu'une santé aussi nécessaire à la cause commune que la vôtre fera dans peu rétablie.

Je vous proteste, Monsieur, avec toute la sincérité dont un bon cœur soit capable, qu'en entrant dans l'emploi où j'ai présente-

* William de Buys, pensionary of Amsterdam, and one of the lords of the States-general of the United Provinces; he was occasionally appointed envoy-extraordinary to the British court. At the conferences for making the peace at Utrecht, he was one of the plenipotentiaries on the part of the States, and was afterwards ambassador to the court of France.

ment l'honneur de servir sa Majesté, rien ne m'a été plus agréable que la considération des moyens que cette charge me fourniroit de vous marquer l'estime que j'ai conçue pour votre personne dès le tems que je vous ai connu à Londres, et que je conserve encore très-vivement imprimé dans mon ame.

J'ai toujours envisagé les intérêts de nos patries d'une manière à me faire croire qu'on ne puisse les séparer sans les blesser ; c'est une règle qui n'a jamais manqué depuis le fondement de votre république, que quand nos princes ont suivi les véritables intérêts de leurs royaumes, ils ont été les amis de la Hollande, et nous n'avons été vos ennemis que quand notre cour tramoit des desseins aussi pernicieux à nous qu'à Messieurs les Etats. Voilà les maximes sur lesquelles roulera ma conduite, et je veux espérer, qu'avec vos bons avis, je ferai en état de rendre ces dispositions, en quelque sorte, utiles et avantageuses à l'une et à l'autre nation.

Vous trouverez bon que je vous écrive de tems en tems, au moins sur le chapitre de nos affaires domestiques ; je vous manderai la vérité toute pure, laquelle à été depuis

puis peu déguisée avec autant de malice que d'artifice. Je suis, Monsieur, du fond de mon ame, votre, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.*

SIR,

Windfor, 13th Oct. 1710.

I HAVE been, since the arrival of your kind and satisfactory letters of the 14th and 17th instant, N.S. in so great a hurry of business, that I have not had the leisure necessary to answer them as they deserve. You will give me leave, in haste, to tell you, that the intelligence which you give, and the accounts which you send of the French designs, are what I expected; but there have been so many positive advices of an invasion sent over, that we, who did not believe them, were obliged to act as if we did †.

I have

* A native of Great Britain, and a merchant of Amsterdam. The party in England and Holland who opposed the peace, were so much displeased with Mr. Drummond's exertions to promote it, that they conspired to ruin him; and in the attempt were too successful.

† " I have a return from some of the persons I employed
" to get intelligence from Dunkirk; and it is incumbent
" upon me to assure your Majesty, that from the first there
" has not been any the least reason for the alarm which has

I have writ and inclosed a letter to Monsieur de Buys: his conduct in correcting the insolence of the Gazetteers, was very obliging; and you will be very just to us in assuring him, that those who have the honour to serve the Queen, will, upon all occasions, where the reputation of Dutch affairs may be concerned, very readily do the same*. I will inform myself particularly, when I return to London, about the pamphlet you mention; and neither Monsieur Buys nor you shall want a true state of our affairs, that so you may prevent those evil and false impressions, which are given by the restless factious spirits of men, who would have the ship founder and go to the bottom, the moment they are removed from the helm.

I go to-morrow, by the Queen's leave, to my own house, and I shall not return to court till the end of next week, having a

" been given of an invasion. Either those who should inform
 " your Majesty of what is doing among your enemies, are
 " very little apprized of the matter, or they had some other
 " reason for creating so much noise." St. John's Letter to the
 Queen, 10th October, 1710.

* The press in Holland was chiefly devoted to the party of the late ministry, and the Duke of Marlborough, and not very attentive to truth and decorum.

county

county election still on my hands, though that of my borough is over *.

Onslow and Scawen have lost it by a great majority in Surrey; the Duke of Somerset is defeated at Marlborough, and in Suffex; my Lord Wharton, in part, in Buckinghamshire, and wholly at Appleby; in short, the general run of elections is suitable to the general style of addresses; very different from those sentiments which the Cheshire address, printed in your Gazette, expresses †.

You may venture to assure every body that credit will be supported, the war prosecuted, the confederacy improved, and the principle in which we engaged pursued as far as possible. Our friends and enemies both will learn the same lesson, that, however we differ about things purely domestic, yet we are unanimous in those great points which concern the present and future happiness of Europe.

I thought it might be more easy to discover in Holland than here, through what

* Upon the change of ministry, parliament was dissolved, and a new one called, to meet 25th November.

† The Cheshire address, disapproving of the change of ministry.

channel those party-lies are conveyed to your news-writers; I fancy Buckley, the writer of the Daily Courant, may have some share in this correspondence.

Your brother will find me very glad to show him all the respect, and to do him all the service, in my power: when I return to London, I will endeavour to see him. I am, Sir, with much truth, &c.

To Mr. Cadogan.*

SIR,

Whitehall, October the 24th, 1716.

YOU make me a great many acknowledgments for a very small favour; whatever effect the revolutions of parties have on others, they have none on me, with respect to personal friendship; and I think what I did was the least our acquaintance and intimacy exacted from me.

As to the other point which you write upon, I will endeavour to serve you in it,

* Lieutenant-general Cadogan had been, during the whole war in Flanders, under the Duke of Marlborough, with whom he was in great favour; and though, upon the disgrace of the Duke, he still kept his situation abroad, for a short time; yet, in the end he was, as his patron had been, dismissed from all his employments;

and

and I will do it frankly; for though measures are to be kept with party, yet friendship may be preserved too; and there is no need of sacrificing to political schemes all the duties of private life.

You are not very unfortunate in having been out of England for some time, you would have had the mortification to see every measure prevail which you and I have so often joined in our detestation of, and after that you would have seen every consequence arrive, which we as often joined in our apprehensions of.

I commend you extremely for your firm resolution of adhering to that great man to whom you have so many obligations; and I dare say you will serve him with sober and solid marks of your gratitude; not with that empty impotent noise by which some people have rendered themselves, if possible, more despicable than they were before. I am, Sir, sincerely, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, October, 27, 1710.

I HAVE been so much out of town, on account of my own elections and those of my friends, that I am got very deep in arrear to all my correspondents, and to none with more regret than to yourself.

Several paragraphs of your letters I read to the Queen, and her Majesty was extremely satisfied with the accounts which they contained: indeed, the only tolerable advices we had, concerning the preparations of the enemy, were those which you sent. It is so necessary an article in public business, to be informed of what is doing abroad, and it is so scandalous to be no better supplied with intelligence than we generally are, that I should take it as an additional mark of your friendship for me, if you would turn in your thoughts how to settle some correspondence of moment in France; could this be done to very good purpose, I would be far from starving the cause.

We hope that no time will be lost in sending ships to the Mediterranean, and the
advance

advance which the East-India Company has made to the Admiralties, looks as if you were in earnest to press your armament as fast as possible.

Mr. H——* sent you, last post, by my directions, some papers, which, if you have not seen them before, will entertain you; we esteem most of the examiners to be finely written, and the Country Gentleman's Thoughts is one of the best pamphlets which this season has produced; Mr. H. will send you one by this post, which is a sequel of another written some years ago upon the same thought.

I thank you particularly for the state which you give me of that intrigue, which produced so indecent a message † to the Queen; but this matter having slept some time, and being almost forgot, and some uncertainties ‡ in the conduct of our own

* Thomas Hare, Esq. Under-secretary of State to Lord Bolingbroke.

† The party of the Duke of Marlborough and the late ministry, had prevailed upon the Dutch to direct Monsieur Vryberg (their Envoy at our court) to dissuade the Queen from a change of administration, which her Majesty considered as an interference at once improper and insulting.

‡ When the Queen began the change of ministers, she first displaced the Marquis of Normanby, in April, and we are told, she then declared that she did not at that time intend to make farther changes.—Sunderland was removed in June, and Godolphin not till August.

court,

court, having, perhaps, contributed to bring it upon us, my present thoughts are, that we had better forbear to revive the discourse.

The hint you give me concerning Sir J. Leake, I approve, and will confer with our friend the Chancellor upon it; my apprehension is, that Sir John may have dipped himself a little too much of late with Orf—d, to be employed in a service of this kind; but I am not certain that this fear is well grounded *.

In all probability, the squadron of Toulon is intended for the West-Indies, and some of the ships from West-France may probably join with them: the French are wise enough to take care of that part: 'tis from thence they know that they may depend on a compensation for all the poverty and distress which the war has brought or can bring upon their nation. I wish the same notions had prevailed more amongst another people of my acquaintance.

The letters are, as you desired, inclosed with this. You may be sure of a religious

* Sir John Leake was a Commissioner of the Admiralty, under the Earl of Orford, but in the new arrangement he succeeded his Lordship as First Commissioner.

punctuality

punctuality in whatever you desire of me. I shall be very glad to have the correspondence you mention improved; the gentleman's way is a little wild, but some facts may perhaps be, one time or other, of use, which we may gather out of his letters.

I did ask colonel Desney to buy me a few things at Brussels, and when he sends you the sum, I shall be obliged to you if you give him credit for the money.

As to the payment of the man who went to Dunkirk, do it as you shall judge reasonable, and I shall very thankfully be answerable to you for the money.

My letters swell insensibly into an exorbitant length, which I hope you will forgive among the many other troubles which are given you by your ever faithful, &c.

A Monsieur de Tallard.*

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 7me Nov. 1711.

J'AI eu l'honneur de lire à sa Majesté la lettre que vous avez bien voulu m'écrire.

La

* The Marechal Count de Tallard was taken prisoner at the battle of Blenheim, 1704, and was escorted to Nottingham, where

La Reine, Monsieur, ne peut pas vous accorder présentement la permission d'aller en France, mais elle me commande de vous assurer qu'elle est fort sensible à vos malheurs, & que vous la trouverez, une autre fois, disposée à vous donner l'adoucissement que vous demandez.

J'espère, Monsieur, que vous me ferez la justice de croire que j'ai représenté vos raisons de la meilleure manière dont je suis capable, & que dans toutes les occasions vous me trouverez prêt à vous rendre tous les services qui dépendent de moi.

Je suis, Monsieur, avec beaucoup de respect, votre très-humble & très-obeissant serviteur,

A Monsieur de Robertson †.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 10me Nov. 1710.

L'HONNEUR que vous avez bien voulu me faire par votre lettre du 23me du mois

where he remained for many years, though not a close prisoner, yet confined to a certain district round that town. He was, upon his first arrival in the Thames, treated with some marked indignity; and no reason was assigned for refusing him his parole. He had, in the last reign, been ambassador from France to this court; and during his captivity, was engaged in communicating intelligence to the French ministry.

* Robertson, private secretary to the Elector of Hanover.

passé,

passé, méritoit bien qu'on y répondit par la première occasion. C'est un devoir auquel je n'aurois pas manqué à satisfaire, si je n'avois été tellement accablé d'affaires depuis deux semaines, qu'il m'a été du tout impossible.

Je vous supplie, Monsieur, de croire que j'embrasse avec tout le plaisir imaginable, l'offre que vous me faites d'une correspondance qui me doit être très-agréable, & peut être utile à deux cours que nous avons l'honneur de servir*.

Monsieur le Baron de Bothmar est attendu ici dans peu, puisque j'ai envoyé, il y a déjà quelque tems, les ordres de la Reine à Messieurs les Commissaires de l'Amirauté de faire passer pour lui un yatch en Hollande. Il peut s'assurer que je ne manquerai pas de lui rendre en toutes choses mes très-humbles services. C'est bien la moindre marque que je pourrai donner du respect que j'ai toujours porté, & que je ne perdrai jamais pour la cour dont il est le ministre.

Sa Majesté nommera dans peu le ministre qu'elle doit envoyer auprès de son Altesse

* When the change in administration took place, Earl Rivers was immediately dispatched to signify the same to the Court of Hanover.

Electoral; j'espère que vous en ferez content, & je ne doute point que vous ne lui accordiez votre protection*.

Vous me ferez toujours une grâce particulière quand vous me donnerez de vos ordres; c'est une vérité dont je vous prie d'être persuadé, & en même-tems qu'on ne peut pas être plus sincèrement que je suis, avec beaucoup de respect, Monsieur, votre très-humble et très-obeissant serviteur.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Nov. 10, 1710.

THOUGH it is now almost eight at night, and I have not removed the pen out of my hand since morning, yet I cannot leave off before I have thanked you most heartily for all your obliging letters, and for all the other services which you have done me.

I suppose Mr. Harley† has answered yours, and transmitted the inclosed again to you, as he assured me that he would not fail to

* Earl Rivers was accordingly appointed in December.

† Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a Lord-commissioner of the Treasury.

do.

do. Upon the subject-matter of that letter, I must take the liberty to say, that the situation of the great man* here will chiefly depend on his own conduct; things are gone so far, that there can be no thoughts of returning now to Egyptian bondage; and if he should engage, though never so artfully and covertly, in the measures of those people to whom of late he has so closely linked himself, it is impossible to say how high the ferment would rise, and into what dangers he would run himself: though this is certainly true, and though he is certainly wise, yet I am apt to fear that he would take the wrong pli. I dare say, his own judgment was subdued when he gave into all the violent measures of our faction, some time ago, and the same overbearing may subdue him again. For my own part, I protest and solemnly tell you, I wish him sincerely well, much better than the flatterers who have forgot the respect they owe their Queen, in making their court to their Ge-

* The Duke of Marlborough was Ambassador to the Hague, Commander-in-chief in Great Britain, and of the auxiliary forces on the Continent, and Master of the ordnance; and his relatives and dependants occupied the chief offices of government.

neral. As his well-wisher, I should be glad if he made less haste home than I believe he has a mind to do; and yet I can very easily conceive what hurt he may do us in Holland, with respect to peace, and many other ways: this is *entre nous*.

The correspondence which you have settled at St. Germain's, and that which you hope to fix, by the way of Genoa, at Toulon, I am extremely thankful to you for. Whatever you draw upon me shall be punctually complied with.

As to the parliament, you may venture to set the minds of men at rest; nothing will be left undone by them which we are in a condition to do, for the sake of the common cause.

You may observe yourself, and make others observe too, what a difference there is between the true strength of this nation and the fictitious one of the Whigs. How much time, how many lucky incidents, how many strains of power, how much money must go to create a majority of the latter; on the other hand, take but off the opinion that the Crown is another way inclined, and the church interest rises with redoubled force,
and

and by its natural genuine strength. I believe there is not any instance to be produced of so many, nor such prodigious majorities, as all the elections were carried by. Surely people will open their eyes apace in Holland, and see where the real interest of this nation resides; but, indeed, of late years, nothing has been known of us abroad, but by the accounts of the Ministers, and of the Whig pamphlets.

Mr. H. sends you the two last Examiners. Adieu. Next post I will write largely to Mr. Buys.

Ever your's entirely.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Nov. 14th, 1710.

IT is with his friends that a man takes always the greatest freedom. I had deferred writing to you on Friday last till I was overcome with sleep and lassitude, and whether my letter was legible or sensible is more than I know.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer showed me yesterday, at Hampton Court, what he

had writ to you. His letter puts, I think, a certain affair in a clear light; and since I can say nothing better to you on the same head, I am sure I ought to say nothing more.

That we may take our measures in the best manner possible for another year of war, in case we are not so happy as to have a peace intervene, the Queen has commanded the Duke of Marlborough to treat with the States, and to know their opinion on those points which seem, in our present circumstances, the most important. The Parliament will vigorously second the Queen's resolutions; and after France has seen some instances of good harmony between Britain and Holland, and between the Queen and her two Houses, I am apt to imagine we shall hear of more peaceable dispositions from that side.

I am glad to hear that some thoughts are entertained in Holland, of attempting an enterprize in the West-Indies. You will oblige me in letting me know whether this proceeds to a formed design, and what kind of plan is proposed. I am under a thorough conviction, that nothing is more for the in-

terest of the maritime powers, whether a war continues, or whether a peace succeeds; and, besides, there may be projects laid of this kind very well worth while, and not in the least chimerical.

I inclose a letter to Monsieur Buys, my correspondence with him shall be very frank and open. There is nothing of more real concern, than to keep up a good understanding between the two countries, and that never can be maintained long, if one side is as much deceived as Holland has been, about the true interest and state of the other.

Brigadier Hill and Colonel Desney, are come over, after a dangerous passage. I have not had an opportunity of settling with the latter my account; I suppose, I may pay Mr. Decker, and take his receipt for your use?

I am ever, with truth and friendship,

Sir, your obedient, &c.

A Monsieur Buys.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 17me Nov. 1710, V.S.

LA manière obligeante dont vous avez reçu les offres que je vous ai fait d'une cor-

C 2 response,

respondence, l'avantage de laquelle fera entièrement de mon côté, m'engage à ne plus différer de vous rendre mes remerciemens.

Les maximes que vous approuvez tant, sont celles que j'ai toujours suivi ; elles sont gravées, d'une manière à ne pouvoir jamais être effacées, dans mon cœur, & dans les cœurs de beaucoup de personnes chez nous, qui peut-être auront été représentés en Hollande sous un caractère bien différent.

Le Duc de Shrewsbury*, & Monsieur Harley, sont fort vos serviteurs, de même que ces autres Messieurs qui ont eu l'avantage de vous connoître pendant le séjour que vous fîtes ici. Ils ont continué dans les mêmes sentimens à l'égard de la clause commune, & des intérêts de nos deux nations, dans lesquels ils ont été de ce tems-là, & s'ils n'ont pas à l'heure qu'il est, les mêmes liaisons, ni les mêmes amitiés, qu'ils ont eu alors, je puis vous assurer que ce changement n'est pas arrivé par leur faute. On tranquillisera les esprits autant qu'il sera possible, & vous ne devez pas craindre que les choses seront poussées trop loin, puisque ce Parlement a été cassé qui avoit montré plus de violence

* Lord Chamberlain, and in the Cabinet.

qu'aucun

qu'aucun autre depuis le règne de Charles second. Les alliés ont été alarmés quand la Reine a trouvé à propos de faire des changemens dans son ministère, & nous savons parfaitement bien les artifices dont on s'est servi pour troubler les esprits. Je veux espérer que ces premiers mouvemens sont passés, & j'ose vous prédire que ce qui vient d'arriver ici montrera à toute la terre combien ces gens ont été trompés, qui ont cru que tout ce que nous avons fait pour la cause commune étoit dû à trois ou quatre personnes.

Le Comte Rivers m'a parlé de vous avec toute l'estime que vous méritez, & je puis vous assurer qu'il a été très-content de la conversation que vous avez eu ensemble. S'il n'a pu vous répondre positivement sur un certain point, je prendrai pourtant la liberté de vous dire là-dessus mon sentiment, qui est, que la situation de ceux qui ont l'honneur de servir la Reine dépendra de leur propre conduite.

J'avois dessein de vous parler sur deux autres articles de très-grande importance, sur lesquels sa Majesté, qui desiré dans toutes choses d'agir de concert, & sans réserve,

avec leurs Hautes Puissances, a donné ses ordres à Monsieur le Duc de Marlborough, & à my Lord Townshend, de parler à Messieurs les Etats, mais comme ma lettre est déjà trop longue, je ne veux plus abuser de votre patience.

Je vous demande la continuation de votre amitié & la justice de me croire, Monsieur, avec beaucoup de respect & d'estime,

Votre très-humble,

Et très-obeissant serviteur.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Nov. 17th, 1710.

I RECEIVED your's of 18th instant, N.S. yesterday, for which I desire you to accept of my humble thanks. I am glad you approve of the opinion I gave concerning the Zealander's inclinations to attack Vryberge. That Examiner which you mention had several remarkable passages in it, and some very proper to affect a Dutchman.

Our news from Spain all manner of ways is bad, and promises being worse. Portugal
did

did almost declare against us, when they refused to do any thing in concert with the King; and the Emperor has given up that cause, and left it to England and Holland, as a thing he is no way concerned in, this great while. Holland, however, gains a great barrier, daily extends her dominion, and keeps her trade uncramped by prohibitions. I doubt Britain, was this war to conclude to-morrow with the evacuation of Spain and the Indies, would have no particular advantage above the common one, except such as would be very precarious, since it would depend upon Austrian gratitude.

The election of peers is over for the north part of the island; and you will find by the list which is published, that we have every one. Our Parliament will therefore be as entirely in the Queen's interest as her most affectionate servants can desire. I hope we shall be able to restore our credit, make provision for our debts, and give the necessary supplies which are wanting for the war. If we bring these things to bear, I hope you will mend your opinion of us in Holland.

C 405 *Adieu,*

Adieu, dear Sir, I am ever, with true respect,

Your obedient, humble servant.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Nov. 28th, 1710.

I THANK you very heartily for your kind and instructive letter of 2d of December, N.S. from the Hague. I have considered seriously every article in it, and I think I see plainly what is at the bottom of the great man's heart.

If he did in earnest design to come into the Queen's measure, his proceeding would be frank and unconstrained. He would not in that case dwell upon generals, but his language would be clear and explicit, both as to men and things. There is, I dare say, no one disaffected man in the Queen's dominions, but who will engage to be of no party, to vote as he finds things just, to be as hearty as any man where the Queen's honour, or the nation's good is concerned. These are vague and uncertain propositions, which

which tie him down to nothing, because he is to expound them himself.

He lays great weight on Mr. Granville's being put into Cardonnel's employment * ; has he forgot Britain enough, to imagine that so little a creature as the latter is capable of filling, at this time of the day, that post ? The Queen's service would become ridiculous in such hands, and I will adventure to affirm, that the state of the war could never be carried through the House of Commons by his secretary. Faction, indeed, will fit any man for any rank, and where that prevails, Cardonnel might be Secretary-at-war, and Meredith† Archbishop of Canterbury.

If he comes home, and disengages himself from the Whigs ; if he puts a stop to the rage and fury of his wife ; in short, if he aban-

* Cardonnel was Secretary to the Duke of Marlborough, and at the same time Secretary-at-war, the latter office Mr. Robert Walpole managed for him ; and, at the change of the ministry, it was given to Mr. Granville.

† Lieutenant-general Meredith, much patronized by the Duke, who had lately procured for him a regiment, against the Queen's intentions, as it had been promised to Colonel Hill, the brother of Lady Masham. This contest became a trial of strength between the Dukes of Marlborough and that Lady. The Duke pretended to be disgusted, and Meredith obtained the regiment.

dons all his new, and takes up with his old friends; by the Queen's favour, and by the remains of regard for him which are preserved in the breasts of several people, he may not only stand his ground, but in my humble opinion, establish himself in as lofty a situation as it becomes a subject to aspire to: but if he imagines that people will any more be caught with general and inconclusive discourse; if he thinks that people will any more engage to him whilst he lies under no engagement, nor gives any security to them; depend upon me, for once, he will find himself deceived. We are as sensible as he or any man can desire us to be of the effort which the Dutch make; but we hope they will be so too of the weight which we have taken on ourselves. Our trade sinks, and several channels of it, for want of the usual flux, become choked, and will in time be lost; whilst, in the mean while, the commerce of Holland extends itself, and flourishes to a great degree. I can see no immediate benefit likely to accrue to this nation by the war, let it end how and when it will, besides the general advantages common to all Europe, of reducing the French power;

power; whilst it is most apparent, that the rest of the confederates have in their own hands already, very great additions of power and dominion obtained by the war, and particularly the States. You know me enough to be assured that I speak this not as being cool in the war, or in any affection to the States; no man living is warmer for both than myself, but I would not willingly have these good words abused any longer; and, under pretence of carrying on the war, and pleasing Holland, unnecessary expences be thrown upon us, rapine and extortion be established for ever.

I had almost forgot to mention to you an instance of the admirable temper in which the great man is likely, at his return, to find his wife. Among other extravagancies, she now declares that she will print the Queen's letters to her; letters writ whilst her Majesty had the good opinion of her, and the fondness for her which her insolent behaviour, since that time has absolutely eradicated.

As to my Lord Albemarle, you are best able to judge how capable he is of seeing into the true state of our affairs, in case he comes
over.

over. I will only give you this caution, that it will be matter of observation who he comes over with.

My Lord Rochester * has more temper than he ever showed in his life, and I must do him the justice to say, that I never knew a man more easy to be lived with ; and Lord M. † must abate a good deal of the warmth he expressed to you, before he will be half so moderate as the president.

The Queen yesterday spoke from the throne; which speech, with the last examiner, I order Mr. H. to send you. It is not to be conceived how good an effect it has had upon the minds of men: the voice of clamour and detraction is stopped, and even the Whigs, in an awkward manner, applaud it.

I spoke to the Queen upon several parts of your letter, as I constantly do, to her very great satisfaction ; and she directs me to tell you, as to your West-India project, that she is desirous to have it thought of and digested on your side, but trusted to as few as pos-

* Lord President of the Council, and maternal uncle to the Queen.

† Marlborough; these two noblemen were rivals for the Queen's favour, and never upon good terms,

fible. If you think it feafable or probable, engage in it, give us immediate notice, and we will concur with what ftrength you please. To tell you the truth, our admiralty is at prefent in fo unfettled a condition, that no project can be concerted with them ; but this evil will foon be remedied. If this design is purfued, care fhould be taken to have a better account of the force Du Caffé goes with, and the time of his departure. The correſpondence of merchants is moſt likely to afford this intelligence.

It is now late, and I have juſt received the Quéén's order to ſtop the poſt till to-morrow ; by that time, I ſhall be able to inform you what the two Houſes ſay upon the Queen's ſpeech. In the mean time I will acquaint you with what paſſed among the Lords to-day. Scarborough moved to have thanks ſent to Lord Marlborough, Richmond ſeconded, and Wharton thirded the motion. Our people were provoked, but however did not preſs into a warm debate, which gave the Duke of Devonſhire, upon a whiſper he had, time to wave the queſtion, ſo that it dropped ſoftly. One would imagine, that Scarborough had been hired by
ſomebody

somebody that wishes Lord Marlborough ill, to take so unconcerted and so ridiculous a measure. The Lords have this day presented their address to the Queen, and the Commons have come to the inclosed resolution, in order to form another. As far as I can judge of the temper of the house, every reasonable thing may be expected from them; but I believe they will be sorry to see themselves, the people they represent, and the Queen they have the honour to serve, imposed upon.

I have this morning received the favour of your's of the 5th of December, N.S. and shall be glad to hear how your Pensionary and the great man agreed; but if you had in Holland any man of genius, he would see how necessary it is to proceed on a new plan with us, and how feeble the old engines with which they have worked will prove.

As to any design of keeping the Duke on the other side of the water, I do not conceive why it should be supposed. What has any one to fear? the nation is awakened from their golden dreams, and I imagine that some people want more protection than they can give.

Adieu;

Adieu ; let me hear from you as soon as you can conveniently.

I am ever inviolably, your's, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

S I R,

Whitehall, Dec. 1st, 1710.

I WRIT a long letter to you by the last post, which came, I hope, safely to your hands, since it was such an one as none but a friend should see.

I have little to say to you now ; the address of the Commons was this day presented, and I believe you will think it a very reasonable, and a very prudent one.

I believe I omitted to mention a fact to you, which I am willing to apprise you of. The States wrote a letter to the Queen, which Monsieur Vryberge delivered to her at a private audience ; claiming a promise, made the last year, to have the debt of the thirteen regiments recommended in her Majesty's speech to the parliament. I sent him the answer inclosed, by the Queen's order ; and when he came the next day to me, I began to explain her Majesty's intentions,
and

and the reasons upon which she proceeded, to him. He received this civility in a very warm and impertinent manner, and used some expressions by no means decent. I gave him some little check, and returned to the point. I showed him the danger of recommending in so very particular a manner this debt, preferable to so many others which have been contracted in this war, which are owing to the Queen's subjects, and which immediately affect our credit. But I acquainted him that her Majesty would make this an article in the general account, which was to be laid before the House of Commons, of the national debts, in which manner we shall be able to obtain the payment of it ; and by the other way, we should have soured men's minds, have failed in this instance, and have made other matters the more difficult.

You see nakedly the principles on which we go ; and I hope if any false representation is given of it, you will set the thing in a true light. Vryberge dropped, on this occasion, some words which expressed a dissatisfaction in continuing here : I do assure you he cannot like us worse than we do

him ; and if some steps, which he has lately made very privately, come to be more known, he will not be endured.

My Lord Peterborough will in a few days be going to Vienna ; he has orders to stop at the Hague, and to communicate to the States his instructions*. We flatter ourselves that they will look on the disputes between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy as the Queen does, and resolve to bring that affair to a decision this winter. The Queen's intentions, and the spirit of every body here, seem bent to make the greatest effort possible in the war ; but, at the same time, we shall press our allies to a better compliance on their parts ; we shall prove, at least, as good confederates as ever, and something less dupes than we used to be†.

I am ever, &c.

* The Earl of Peterborough was appointed to go to Vienna, to adjust the difference between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy, which had been the cause of so many inactive campaigns on the side of Italy.

† All the allies had been deficient in furnishing their quota ; particularly the Emperor, with respect to a land army, and the Dutch with regard to ships of war.

To Mr. Drummond.

S I R,

Whitehall, Dec. 3, 1710.

I HAVE received the favour of your letter of the 9th instant, N.S. with the inclosed for Mr. Harley, which I sent immediately to him, and have since read.

One passage of that letter of yours I will say two words upon. My Lord Marlborough thinks that those who advise him to continue where he is, consult their own ease as much as his; for my part, I own I see no reason any man here has to be afraid of his coming over. As his humble servant, I wish he may, when he is here, engage heartily with those whom the Queen has thought fit to employ, and join in such measures as will be effectual to retrieve the misfortune of precedent management. If he imagines that he shall be able to put himself upon an independent foot, which all his discourse tends to, he will be fatally deceived.

I agree entirely with you, that we must never submit to make the first step towards peace; on the contrary, I think that, with-

out any regard to that, the utmost efforts should be made in every part, for pushing on the war: but, on the other hand, if ever it shall please God to infuse into the minds of our enemies a sincere intention of ending this cruel war, I hope we in Britain, and our good friends in Holland, shall be wise enough not to suffer either the persons deputed, or those deputing, to be frightened a second time out of their senses*.

The barrier which the States have obtained we are perfectly satisfied with; we look upon Holland as the frontier of Britain, and upon these two nations together as the bulwark of the Protestant interests. Suffer no jealousy of another kind to prevail.

What you tell me of my Lord Marlborough's dissatisfaction about my Lord Orrery's promotion, is very surprizing. This gentleman goes over no man's head; and it would be very hard if one man might not have justice done him (for Wade was made

* This alludes to the negociations with the French the year before, and which were renewed the beginning of this year; but it was supposed that the Duke of Marlborough was against a peace, and that his influence determined the conferences.

a brigadier in his wrong) when so many have had favour shown them, whole pretensions are not better than his, unless finding fault with the Queen's measures be a military virtue, and approving them be akin to mutiny.

I am not at liberty to say any thing to you concerning one part of your letter just now, but in a post or two will write you more clearly; in the mean time, I will tell you, that Sir James Wishart will very soon be sent into Holland. He will have several instructions given him, upon which to treat in naval affairs; and one secret commission *

on

* " Anne R. " The secret instructions for Sir James Wishart. Given at our Court, at St. James's, 'the 14th day of January, 1710-11.

" You shall acquaint the Pensioner, in private, that, besides the matters contained in your general instructions, you are directed to propose to him an enterprize which may, in all probability, redound to the greatest advantage of our kingdoms, of their state, and of the common cause.

" You are, on this occasion, to set forth how prodigious a profit accrues to the French by the trade which they have opened to the South-Sea, how much this trade increases annually, and how great probability there appears to be that it either is, or will very soon be settled and allowed of, not only by means of the influence of France over the councils of Spain, but also by reason of the conveniency which all the inhabitants of Chili, Peru, and the whole coast of the South-Sea, find in having European commodities brought to their very doors, which they had no other way formerly of procuring but from the North-Sea.

" In

on which he is to discourse with you; but having no cypher, I dare not write about it. Be so good as to give a favourable impression of him; the Queen will trust him very materially, and it will be very agreeable to her if the States do so too. Inform me a little how he must entangle his secret commission by the first post.

Our committee of supply is open; we have gone through the estimate of the navy, and have voted it; the debt on that head is already before the house, as all the others will shortly be; and, instead of concealing, we shall affect to lay all things open. What will you say, if a Secretary of State should move to go into a committee on the state of the nation? The House seems deter-

“ In order to prevent these mischiefs, you shall propose to the Pensioner to make an agreement that three, or four, or a greater number of ships if there be occasion, shall be furnished by the States-General next summer, to join with a proportionable number of our ships, for the disturbing and ruining the enemy's trade in the South-Sea.

“ You shall make it your business, during your stay in Holland, to inform yourself by all possible means of the rules observed by the French in their South-Sea voyages, of their manner of victualling that service, and of all other matters which may be of information to us in the carrying on this service, or any other which you shall think may be properly undertaken in those parts for the advantage of the common cause.

“ A. R.”

Sir James Wishart was a Commissioner of the Admiralty.

mined to provide for the current service of the year first, and after that is over, to find a method of providing for the national debts.

I desire you to make my humble service acceptable to the Pensionary; and to let him know, that by zeal for the common cause, by firmness, by assiduity, and indefatigable industry, we hope to merit esteem of him and all other honest men.

I am ever, dear Sir, yours.

On the 14th of November last, Mr. T. by my order, inclosed to you a letter for one Du Puys, it is of consequence, and I hope it came safe to your hands.

To Mr. Drummond.

S I R,

Whitehall, Dec. 12, 1710.

SINCE my last, which acknowledged the favours for which I was then indebted to you, no letters have come from you to my hands.

The Queen has thought fit to dismiss Mr. Meredyth, Mr. Mackartney, and Mr. Honeywood

neywood from her service; and the reason which she commands her servants to give for this step is, that she found it absolutely necessary to stop the licentious insolence which was used the last campaign, both towards her, and towards her administration, by these examples; that she hopes these will suffice, and that she shall not be obliged to make any more *.

Letters of revocation go by this post to Mr. Cadogan, and your friend, Mr. Hill, is already appointed her Majesty's envoy-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States, and at Brussels. Sir James Wishart will very soon be with you; his public and general instructions will be of much the same nature as those which were formerly given to Sir David Mitchell †; but he will be

* Lieutenant-general Meredith, Major-general Mackartney, and Brigadier-general Honeywood; these officers, who had been lately promoted to the command of regiments, at a convivial meeting, had unguardedly expressed in their toasts, their disapprobation of the change of ministry, and in terms very indecorous. The Secretary at war signified to them that the Queen had no farther occasion for their services; she, however, permitted them to sell out. The army, at this time, being commanded by the Duke of Marlborough, was said to show a disposition of standing by their general.

† It was usual for a Lord-commissioner of the admiralty to repair to Holland; to concert with the States the marine operations.

ordered to propose a service*, which we here, upon reasonable grounds, and upon very mature deliberation, think practicable, and very promising, and which must be trusted to as few as possible on their side; on ours, none are in the secret, except the President the Chamberlain and the Chancellor of the exchequer.

As to parliamentary affairs, we shall hasten on the supply, and pass the land-tax before the recess at Christmas. After that I believe you must expect some enquiries into former management. For my own part, I do not, I confess, see how those who are now in the administration, and who have taken such a broken shattered game into their hands, can be safe, and avoid bearing the load of other people's guilt, unless they make a plain and obvious discrimination between their own management, and the natural necessary consequences of that which went before. This will in no sort retard or straiten the supplies for the public service;

* The expedition to the South-Sea, which seems to have been a favourite project of Lord Bolingbroke. The editor has two memoirs of a Monsieur Texier, upon the subject, which were delivered to his Lordship; they relate to the coasts and harbours, the mode of victualling, and goods proper for South-Sea markets.

for which reason, you in Holland, who look no farther than the interest of the common cause, will have no occasion of being concerned; and for such of our allies as enter into the interest of a party, it is not very important how they take it.

Your acquaintance, the Dean of Christ Church, is come up to London to die. A sudden and universal decay has seized him, and he can languish, as Radcliffe * pronounces, but a little longer. It is happy for the college, and for the common interest, that he did not die last year †.

I have nothing more worth lengthening my letter for. When you see the pensionary Buys, do me the justice to let him know that I am his servant, and believe me, eternally, and with true friendship,

Your's.

To Mr. Drummond.

S I R,

Whitehall, Dec. 20, 1710.

I INTENDED to have writ to you last night, but the House of Commons sit-

* Dr. Radcliffe, the physician.

† Dr. Aldrich.

ting till almost twelve o'clock, I was really so much spent and tired that it was impossible.

On Saturday, your three letters of the 15th, 19th, and 23d, N.S. came together to my hands; and I begin answering them thus early, because I foresee that I shall have little leisure either to-morrow or Friday.

It is not a little surprising, that the rumour of the Marechal de Tallard's having obtained leave to go into France should prevail so much, since it was refused as soon as asked. Sinzendorf*, as an Imperial minister, is frightened at the least remote prospect of peace; and no wonder, since they are sure at his court of gaining, and have no chance of being losers by the war.

If there can be any need of such offices, pray be so just to your friends on this side, as to assure every body, that though the Queen thinks it perhaps a great hardship to keep a man as a prisoner of state, who neither is, nor can be reputed any thing more than a prisoner of war; yet, purely to avoid giving any handle to those whose

* Count Sinzendorf, Imperial ambassador at the Hague.

business it is to turn all things wrong, the Marechal continues still at Nottingham.

A good peace would be the best thing which could happen for our common interest; but we are persuaded here, that even this blessing is not to be desired, unless our enemy asks it, and unless our good allies, the States, go hand in hand with us from the first step to the last.

The comments made on the Queen's speech are extremely invidious. The true reasons, I believe, why the word indulgence is used preferably to toleration are these:

First, because the former is the term in law; secondly, because, in truth, dissenters are not tolerated: the penalty of the law is only suspended, and they, by consequence, only indulged. And, thirdly, because some have been of late years so hardy as to assert, that being tolerated by act of parliament, amounts to a legal establishment; and that therefore they are on as good a foot as the church of England.

Since people, barely indulged, are so ready to contend for a parity, it is much to be feared, that if this point were once yielded to them, they would soon struggle for a superiority.

superiority. On this head, you may assure yourself, and others, that the principle of the present ministry is neither to oppress the dissenters, under pretence of securing the establishment, nor to suffer them, under the specious colour of moderation, to gain spirit and strength enough to provoke and insult the church.

The other reflection has no better reason to support itself than this : we are very far from imagining that the Flanders war should be neglected, where such great impressions have been made on the French ; we feel by experience, how insupportable an expence it is to carry on a regular war with great armies in Spain ; we see, besides, how little hopes there are of any assistance from the good-will of the Spaniards to our cause ; but still we think, that the expence which we have been at, well applied, would have been effectual ; we think, that two thousand horse and some battalions of foot more, might this year have enabled us to keep our post in Castile ; in short, not to enumerate too many particulars, we think, that either there should have been no war in Spain, or another sort of one. *Nous nous*
brulons

brulons à petit feu; we exhaust ourselves insensibly; and a million and a half is given to no purpose by us, when a very small addition to this on the part of our allies would perhaps have been decisive.

As to the impeachment* which is said to be threatened by the House of Commons, and which you are told will not turn to any account whenever it is begun; I have only this to say, that I verily believe no such thing is intended; but that, if it was, neither matter would be wanting, nor the means, with very little management, to carry it through both houses †.

I will give you, upon this occasion, one instance of the good temper of our friends in the Lower House. On Tuesday, the election of Bewdley was tried at the bar; the whole merits whereof turned upon the validity of a charter granted by the Queen about two years and a half ago. It appeared so plainly, that this charter was illegal in its own nature, and imposed by force, contrary to Magna Charta, on the borough,

* Probably of the Duke of Marlborough.

† Upon an inspection of the expenditure of public money, various frauds, to a very large amount, were discovered, which were afterwards laid before parliament.

that

that no man but Lechmere durst speak in defence of it. Nor was the charter only a grievance, as great, if not greater than any of those instances so much exclaimed against in King James's time; but the manner of procuring it was also highly aggravating, since it was made out, that the Queen's warrant directed one thing, and that by virtue of that very warrant another thing was effected. What was the result of this? why the election was settled, the charter censured; and the Queen addressed that the town of Bewdley might be restored to their ancient rights; but nothing personal was moved. If the tables had been turned, if the present keeper had been at the time Chancellor; and if the present majority of Tories had been a majority of Whigs; I leave you to judge, by what has happened in the last parliament, what would have happened in this.

December the 22d.

LAST night we received letters from Lisbon; the inclosed is an extract of the news which they bring from our army in Castile; and by it you will find that the French accounts have imposed very much upon

upon us, since, though the King is gone to Barcelona, yet the troops continue in the posts on the Tagus, and near Madrid; and besides, his guard is so small, that the communication with Arragon and Catalonia must needs be open, and without difficulty.

I must explain one passage in my former letters, which seems to have been a little mistaken. Vryberge did not a second time press the debts due to the thirteen regiments; he was impertinent, in the manner I sent you an account of, the first time I spoke to him by her Majesty's order on the subject: since that time, *il a filé doux* *.

I am extremely pleased to hear that my Lord Albemarle makes so great a figure, both from his merit, and from his favour. If you have an opportunity of doing it, you will oblige me in making my humble service acceptable to him, and in assuring him that I shall take any opportunity of showing my respect to him as an extraordinary happiness and honour.

I protest to you, I cannot with patience hear my Lord Marlborough, speaking of the Whigs, call them his old friends. Who

* He has submitted.

supported him in the King's time, but we? —Who gave my Lord Godolphin and himself a party in the beginning of the Queen's reign, but we?—To whom, in short, does he owe the obligation that his friend, Godolphin, and he, were not nipped in the bud of their administration, but to those people whom afterwards, if not at the very time, they two betrayed, and have since persecuted in the most cruel manner, for no reason on earth, but because we would not renounce principle, friendship, and whatever else is sacred among honest men? In good earnest, Sir, I should be glad to see my Lord Marlborough engage heartily in the true interest, and forbear to sacrifice his country to rapine and to faction; but I begin to despair of it: for my own part, I will steadily pursue the measures I am now in, let the consequence be what it will. I have communicated to the Queen the greatest part of your last letters, and I read the whole to the Duke of Shrewsbury. Her Majesty is very well pleased with the accounts which you give, and very sensible of the pains you take in her service; the Duke desires you to look upon him as your

humble servant, and to be assured that he is so far from taking umbrage at your being let into the secret of his correspondence with my Lord Albemarle, that there is no person to whom he would more freely open himself than to you.

Sir James Wishart is declared one of the Lords of the admiralty, and I carried him this evening to kiss the Queen's hand. The true reason of delaying his journey I will trust you with—his secret instruction: and the true reason of his journey is to endeavour to concert a West-India design for the next year, if the war continues.

• Now we are desirous to have my Lord Peterborough gone from the Hague, on his way to Vienna, before Sir James arrives there; because, though my Lord might be a very proper man to command in such an expedition, yet we had rather commit the forming of the plan to another. Sir James Wishart will have orders to apply himself to the Grand Pensionary*, and my Lord
Townshend

* Anthony Heinsius, Keeper of the Seals, had been, from his youth, engaged in public affairs. He was intimately connected with Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough; and this connection, united with his hatred to France (where, upon a former occasion, and in a public capacity, he had
Vol. I. E. been

Townshend will be directed to introduce him. My Lord will likewise be directed to assist in the negociation, as far as relates to the quotas of ships for the next year's service, but I do not believe the other part will be trusted to him.

As to Monsieur Vryberge, I desire you to assure the Pensionary, that I will ever respect him as the minister of the best and nearest allies which my mistress has. I have endeavoured to show him that no part of his conduct sticks with me, and I believe he has too good an opinion of me to imagine I am ignorant of the little factious intrigues he has been tampering in.

Mr. Hill will not be able to undertake the commission which the Queen designed him for. Since his instructions were drawn, the surgeons and physicians have, at a consultation, declared him incapable of the service: he must be cut for a severe fistula, and it is much to be apprehended that he may die in the operation*. I tell you, in

been threatened with the Bastille) urged him to be rigorous in the terms of peace.

* Richard Hill, appointed (vice General Cadogan) Envoy-extraordinary to the States, and to the Council of State in the Spanish Netherlands.

confidence.

confidence, that Lord Raby will be the ambassador at the Hague: all this *fit inter nos*.

I shall write to you by Mr. Gordon, who goes from hence in the beginning of next week; he is one to whom I must desire your countenance.

Forgive the length of this tedious letter; and believe that I think I do my mistress more service by corresponding with you than with any of her ministers. I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Dec. 26, 1710.

ON Saturday last I received the favours of your letters of the 26th and 30th of this month, N.S. and this morning the post brought me that of the 2d of January; for all which I desire you to accept of my humble thanks.

I believe those gentlemen who have received lately the marks of her Majesty's displeasure cannot find many advocates. It was high time either to leave off the style

of Queen, or to assert the character, and make her authority be felt. The Duke's expression, mentioned in the first letter upon this occasion, is very liable to these two reflections: that if these were limbs which belonged to him, they were gangrened, and amputation of them was the best office any friend could do him. If these are the only persons he could work with, the work he has to do is very fit to be prevented.

The Pensionary's behaviour, certainly, was very becoming his prudence and great capacity; and when I read that paragraph of your letter to the Queen, she seemed to think so too.

As to the reports of my going over to Holland, and of several other matters, there is as little ground for them as there is for many representations which Vryberge, I believe, makes upon the credit of his Whig correspondents; not but that I hope, and believe, the Queen will go on to remove those from her who presume to declare against her.

Yesterday, before the Cabinet-council sat, your envoy took me aside in the Queen's bed-chamber. His business was to tell me

what he had said the day before to her Majesty; which the Queen was pleased herself to give me an account of, so that I stood in no need of his information. He talked to her extremely of keeping the two nations in the closest union; and often repeated that phrase, *agir de concert*. The Queen told him she always had, and always would do so.

I assured him that I looked upon a good harmony between Britain and Holland as the true interest of both countries; and that for this very reason I was full of indignation against those people who caballed here, not only to disturb us at home, but to give false impressions of us abroad, and by such factious proceedings to create jealousies between the two nations. I dare say he understood me. I endeavoured to behave myself *sua-viter in modo, fortiter in re*.

Among other things, at this private audience, Mr. Vryberge asked the Queen with whom he was to confer when he should have matters of great importance to communicate? she told him, with me. For God's sake, what answer did he expect? You would hardly believe him weak enough

to tell even this part of his conversation to me; but I suppose he thought that if he had not the Queen would, and in this he judged right.

I have nothing to say for or against my Lord Townshend*; I hope he serves the Queen well; I am sure it is his duty to do so, preferably to all considerations of party,

The rumour about our allowance of French wine is groundless; though, I must deal plainly with you, the Dutch would have the worst grace in the world to complain in this case.

Our misfortune in Spain is very great†; and we feel the weight the more, because our letters from Portugal had just before the arrival of these, given us hopes that our army would be able to keep their posts in Castile, and, by consequence, that we had the winter before us to prepare for supporting of them. I speak my mind always with the last freedom to you; and I own that, since Spain cannot be gained by revo-

* The Queen's ambassador-plenipotentiary, jointly with the Duke of Marlborough, at the Hague.

† Staremberg had been defeated at Villa Viciosa, and Stanhope, with his whole force, surrendered prisoners of war at Bahuaga. Had the Portugal army marched in time, the campaign had probably been successful.

lution (of which error, imposed by the Imperialists, and by that run of success which we once had in Catalonia and Valencia, upon us, we are at last fatally undeceived) there is no reasonable, sober man who can entertain a thought of conquering and retaining that wide continent: however, a good mien is to be put on, and the war there must be kept alive, and France must be pushed with the greatest vigour in the most sensible part.

It is very unfortunate that the long continuance of the westerly winds has hindered our nine battalions from sailing, and your squadron of ships from coming to join ours.

But what shall we say to the news from Constantinople *? — What a turn to the whole affairs of Europe may this rupture of the Turk with Muscovy occasion! I need not trace out to you the consequences which may too probably follow; you see them better than I do. In short, my good friend, there is a certain point to which all human affairs may be carried, and no far-

* Charles XII, King of Sweden, having lost his army and his kingdom by his defeat at Pultowa, fled to Turkey, where he contrived to prevail on the Grand Signior to espouse his cause, and to declare war against the Czar.

ther can they go; the wise man feels this, and stops in time; we have wantonly overloaded Fortune, she sinks under the burden, and can or will assist such presumptuous people no longer.

The Queen writes both to the Emperor and to the States upon this occasion, and presses them both to exert themselves with vigour, as she engages to do on her part.

As to the affair of the Buenos Aires' ships, I must own myself not very perfectly informed of it, my Lord Townshend never having one word ordered him, since I came to be Secretary of State, of this kind; neither has he, in any of his letters to me, once mentioned the case. To speak plainly, I am of opinion, that my Lord Sunderland* is more concerned in these instances than the Queen, and the honour of his counter-signing than of her signing. I have taken occasion to speak of this affair in my dispatches to the ambassador; and upon his answer, which I will lay before her Majesty, I will endeavour to procure such orders as may bring this matter into a reason-

* Secretary of State in the late administration. He married the daughter of the Duke of Marlborough.

able temper, and no longer leave that to be rashly pursued which perhaps was rashly begun.

Since the writing thus far I have been, from my office, at St. James's. I mentioned this affair to the Queen, she directed me to enquire of my Lord Townshend on what foot it stands at present ; so that, upon his answer, there will be a fair occasion of giving any reasonable orders in this affair.

You may use your discretion in showing what you think proper of my letters to the Grand Pensionary ; and particularly I desire you to explain to him, in the last confidence, what is said concerning the Spanish war above, as my private sense. You may let him know that it is the Queen's too.

Could you find a right measure of sounding the Pensionary, whether they would be easy if, having no other way of supporting our affairs in Spain or Portugal, we should take some British battalions from Flanders ? we have several there more than strictly we are obliged to, and the Dutch have at least six which were brought home after the battle of Almanza, and ought to have been sent back. Adieu. I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Jan. 5, 1710-11.

MR. H. made my excuses to you on Friday last, and you are so well acquainted with the prodigious hurry of business which at this time of the year a man must live in who has any employment to fill, that I dare say you accepted and allowed of them. Since that time, your letter of the 9th of this month, N.S. is also come to my hands, I shall say little in answer to the first paragraph in it. You speak modestly of yourself and of your services; but I must think that the part which you have been so generous to act, has been of more advantage to the Queen's affairs, than all that her ministers have done for her, who are very numerous and very expensive on your side of the water.

Lechmere, whom we turned out of the house very justly, is brother to the lawyer, whom I suppose you mean *; the patron of

* Anthony Lechmere, returned member of parliament for Bewdley, and expelled the House, was brother to Nicholas Lechmere, who was member for Appleby, one of the managers on Dr. Sacheverell's trial, and patronized by Lord Wharton, then just recalled from the Lord-lieutenancy of Ireland.

the

the latter, deserves no better fortune than you seem to wish him, and I believe he is under no small uneasiness of mind. His administration in Ireland was in many respects scandalous, but his corruption was perhaps greater than any you ever heard of; the facts are known to several, and some have the proofs in their power; whether, in this Session, time will be found to worry him or not, I am as yet unable to say.

We were indeed, as you observe, soon awakened from that golden dream into which the Portugal letters had thrown us. That house of Austria has been the evil genius of Britain. I never think of the conduct of that family, without recollecting the image of a man braiding a rope of hay whilst his ass bites it off at the other end.

The expence of the Spanish war has been excessive, and yet so managed as never to turn to account; I will, when I have an hour of leisure, draw an extract of the sums given, and the debts incurred. I dare say, before-hand, you will hardly give me credit. In short, that was the gulph where treasure was thrown in, and no care taken of the application of it.

The

The House of Commons are entering on the examination of frauds committed in the victualling, they will proceed afterwards to some others, and I make no question, but that the late applauded administration of the Treasury will appear, before this session concludes, to have been the most loose, the most negligent, the most partial that ever any country suffered by,

I easily believe that such directions as you mention, have been sent to Mr. Vryberge, and he seems by his conduct in some measure to act accordingly; but, my good friend, there is not need of any great sagacity to find out that our friends in Holland are not yet clear in their judgment or resolution how to live with us; there would, in such case, very soon be a minister sent hither, in whom we could have some confidence, instead of this man who has really been the tool of a faction, and has made himself as odious as any party-man of our country*. I take it for granted, that your people are made to believe that there are divisions

* Notwithstanding his Lordship's opinion, Vryberge, the Dutch Envoy, lived ten years in this country much respected, and died of a consumption, at Chelsea, greatly regretted, in the year 1711.

amongst

amongst the Queen's servants, and that this new ministry is come to no consistency, and by consequence cannot for any time support itself: but these reasoners are deceived, we are built on a better bottom than they imagine, and the last will be made too odious to return again into power. My Lord Marlborough has been here now some time; I have been once with him, and he as often with me. It would be too tedious to recapitulate all that passed; in general I spoke my mind with all imaginable frankness to him, and could not forbear showing him the difference between those friends he once had, and those whom he had abandoned them for*. He seems more and more dejected, and I believe finds two things which he did not expect: the first, that his interest is quite gone in a certain place; and, the second, that he can make no breach in the church party, because not one individual man amongst them will trust him.

My Lord Peterborough's journey is delayed for a day or two at the desire of the

* The Duke, at the commencement of his political career, had embarked with the Tories.

house of Lords, who have this day begun to deliberate upon the affairs of Spain.

My Lord Orrery will be sent to Brussels, and will have likewise credentials for the Hague; this is known, but not having been declared in form, must not be said to come from me. As to the other minister*, I believe there is no alteration can be made, since I have already acquainted him privately with the Queen's intention. I am, &c.

A Monsieur de Robertton.

MONSIEUR,

Whitehall, ce 9me Jan. 1710-11, V.S.

JE me sens penché de la plus vive reconnoissance de l'honneur que son Altesse Electorale a daigné me faire. Je vous supplie de lui renouveler mes assurances qu'on ne peut être plus dévoué à son service, & à celui de son illustre maison, que je le suis. Dans toutes les situations d'une vie assez agitée, j'ai taché de faire paroître ces sentimens, et si j'étois capable de les changer, je me croirois indigne du caractère de bon

* Probably Lord Raby.

Protestant,

Protestant, bon Anglois, ou fidel serviteur de la Reine ma maîtresse.

Monsieur de Bothmar * est à présent ici. Je ne manquerai pas de vivre avec lui dans une confiance entière, et il peut compter sur tous les services que je lui pourrai rendre. J'espère même lui avoir montré que c'est mon dessein.

Je tombe d'accord que pendant le séjour de Monsieur de Bothmar à Londres, il sera fort inutile que vous vous donniez la peine de m'écrire ; je vous ferai par son canal mes complimens, et je ferai toujours, avec beaucoup d'estime, Monsieur, Votre très-humble, etc.

A Monsieur Buys.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 12^{me} Jan.
1710-11, V.S.

JE suis ravi de voir que vous étiez content de l'ouverture de notre parlement ; j'ose prédire que vous ne le ferez pas moins de sa conclusion.

Les personnes dont vous parlez méritent

* Baron de Bothmar, envoy from the court of Hanover.

bien ce caractère de modérées (que quelques autres se sont attribué avec très-peu de justice) puisqu'ils ont plus d'une fois arrêté la violence de nos partis, et jamais plus à-propos que dans la révolution de notre ministère; en dernier lieu, sans ce coup, nous devenions les esclaves d'une faction chez nous, pendant que par dehors nous faisons les derniers efforts pour la liberté de l'Europe. Il faut espérer qu'avec le tems tous nos amis verront combien ils ont été trompés par ces gens, qui leur ont voulu persuader qu'il s'agissoit de l'intérêt de la cause commune, quand, dans le fond, il ne s'agissoit que de celui de quelques particuliers.

Les pommes de discorde doivent être toujours écartées autant qu'il est possible. On n'aura rien à nous reprocher sur cet article, mais aussi il ne faut pas que nous oublions que nos parlemens ont été institués, par la sagesse de nos ancêtres, pour examiner la distribution des deniers publics, aussi-bien que les donner.

Permettez moi de vous renvoyer à ce que j'ai écrit à Monsieur Drummond touchant les fonds que nous trouverons pour les fraix de la guerre, et pour le payement de nos dettes.

Le

Le Duc de Marlborough est présentement ici ; il a pris le parti de se soumettre en toutes choses au bon plaisir de la Reine, et sur ce pied il pourra se soutenir. Tous ceux qui ont l'honneur d'être dans les affaires sont prêts à le prendre par la main, et à rendre les meilleurs services à sa Majesté et à la cause commune, dont ils soient capables, de concert avec lui ; mais il faut marcher droit.

Je vous tiens la parole que je vous ai donné dans ma première lettre, et je vous écris sans réserve.

Messieurs les Commissaires de la Trésorerie ont ce matin reçu les ordres de la Reine, de fournir l'argent nécessaire pour faire une plus grande provision de fourrage ; et par la poste qui part ce soir, il se fait une remise de cent dix-mille livres sterling pour le service des troupes en général. Ainsi vous voyez, Monsieur, que, bien loin de négliger la guerre de Flandre, toutes les mesures sont prises d'un mois ou de cinq semaines plutôt qu'elles n'ont accoutumées de l'être, pour la soutenir de notre côté ; en effet, les préparatifs extraordinaires des ennemis exigent cela de nous.

Il faut espérer, avec la bénédiction du ciel, de conserver cette supériorité que nous avons gagné, nonobstant tous les facheux contre-tems qui viennent d'arriver.

A l'égard de la paix, je crois comme vous, qu'il ne faut jamais consentir à une qui soit méchante; il me semble que pour en obtenir une bonne, il faut observer inviolablement ces deux maximes: en premier lieu, de ne pas faire les avances; et en second lieu, de ne pas trop se roidir, et rejeter des propositions raisonnables *.

Je suis, &c.

* Some short time before the date of this letter, it had been resolved in the cabinet to sound the court of France on the subject of peace; to this end, the Earl of Jersey proposed Gaultier a priest, who had been chaplain to Tallard when on the embassy to our court, and afterwards to Count de Gallas, the Imperial envoy, a man sufficiently obscure for the purpose: his instructions were not given by any of the ministers, were verbal, and delivered by the Earl of Jersey; to this effect: that the Queen's ministers were desirous of peace; that they could not, from motives of safety, set on foot a private negotiation with France; that therefore the king of France must renew the conferences, and that the British ambassadors should have such orders as should prevent any impediment on the part of the Dutch. To show the inclination of the French court, he required a letter to Lord Jersey, expressing nothing more than personal compliments to his lordship. Gaultier arrived in France 15th *January, N.S.* (Torcy's *Memoires*). This letter seems to be preparatory to the avowal of negotiations which were then commencing.

To Mr. Drummond.

S I R,

Whitehall; Jan. the 12th, 1710-11.

YOUR letters of the 13th and 16th instant, N.S. are come to my hands; they give, like all your others, very great satisfaction; and I am truly thankful to you for them.

I am glad to find the Count de Sinzen-
dorf is pleased with the conduct of our
court; I wish I could say that we are so
with his; but indeed we are almost tired
of an ally, who expects every thing and
does nothing.

I will certainly live well with Vryberge;
but remember what I wrote to you upon the
subject lately:

The Pensionary's opinion, in relation to
the war, agrees very well with that which
is entertained here:

We think it of the last consequence to take
the field as early as possible; and with a
strength at least equal to what we have had
in Flanders. We are convinced that an
offensive war cannot be pushed in Spain,
but we desire to put on all the good coun-
tenance on that side which we can; and in

effect to keep our ground in Catalonia. On the Rhine, no effort will ever be made; but a strong diversion ought, if possible, to be given from Savoy. On all these heads, the Queen is actually doing so much, that we shall have no reason to reproach ourselves; and though we have lost (with the Pensionary's good leave) one glorious opportunity of bringing a peace to bear, yet I make no doubt but we shall be able still to force the enemy to offer us another.

I believe, though I have hardly had time to ask him the question, that the Chancellor of the exchequer writes to you; if so, you will have from him a better account of credit, and of the supplies, than I can pretend to send you, since the whole attention of my mind is turned another way; and I take up those things but casually; and as it were *en passant*: however, thus much I will acquaint you with; the remittance is ordered to-day for the douceurs as well as pay of the troops in Flanders: and the Queen, in cabinet, directed the Lords of the treasury to prepare to answer an extraordinary expence, on account of an additional provision of forage. The great preparations of
the

the enemy on the Somme, as well as the Maese and Sambre side, are known to us, and we have taken the alarm, without staying till you gave it. I hope these measures in Holland will have their effect; and those ministers who do things with so good a grace, will not be taxed with intending to starve the war, where my Lord Marlborough commands.

You will observe, that these provisions are made much sooner than in my Lord Godolphin's time.

In the committee of supply, a vote has this day passed to grant a supply to her Majesty, to enable her to make a contract for answering all non-specie exchequer-bills; the contract is settled with the Bank, and we make no doubt of raising our credit immediately. We shall proceed to the consideration of our debts, which amount to near ten millions. Great as they are, we shall attempt to make, even this session, a provision for them; and Mr Harley tells me, that he is under no apprehension of not succeeding.

Pray make our friends in Holland observe how grossly they have been imposed upon;

and how simple a figure they make when they pretend to judge of our affairs, and to act the censors so rashly as they have lately done.

As to the great man you mention, I have wrote a few but plain words to your pensionary. He was not received with the acclamations you heard of; and they are much mistaken who imagine that he can be upon any other bottom than what the Queen pleases to put him. I dare say he is convinced by this time that he cannot lead either his mistress, or any one else, as he used to do. We shall send him over a subject, take care you do not put royalty into his head again.

Adieu, I am, &c.

To Mr. Scott.*

S I R,

Whitehall, Jan. 16th, 1710-11.

IT was great pleasure to me to find by your letter of the second of the last month, that

* James Scott, British Resident at Dresden.

The following letter is from this gentleman to the Earl of Peterborough (then at Frankfort):

" My Lord,

" Dresden, Sept. 22d, 1711.

" I was thinking to do myself the honour to write to your
Excellency

that you still preserve a kind remembrance of an old acquaintance; and that you have all those favourable thoughts of me, which
I am

Excellency by the last post, but was uncertain whether my letters might find you at Frankfort; they will I believe now, and I hope your Lordship will easily believe, that I shall reckon it a very particular happiness, if, during your stay there, I can transmit any thing from this place that may either be for her Majesty's service, or your Lordship's entertainment. What I think most worth your while at present is, that the Czar arrived here on Sunday last, about four in the afternoon, and soon after went to supper at Mr. Vitzdam's, who is grand fauconier here, and a sort of favourite with his Czarish majesty. Yesterday, he diverted himself by going to see what is thought to be worth seeing in the town, and about it; and at night Mr. Vitzdam gave him another entertainment at his house, where the best company in town of both sexes was invited. I had also the honour to be of the party; and must own I was not sorry to have that occasion of observing, somewhat nearer than I had done before, so extraordinary a prince. I was surprised to hear him talk with so much *sang froid* of his late disasters; for he made no difficulty to own, that his men were reduced to the greatest extremity; and that several of them had died of hunger: he owned also, that his cavalry was entirely ruined; in a word, he seemed to laugh in his sleeve, that the Turks had made no greater advantage of his ill circumstances, or rather, perhaps, that they had let him go without being well assured of the execution of the treaty; for I find his Czarish majesty doth not stand to say plainly, that he will not give up Asoph till the king of Sweden hath left the Turkish dominions; and that if the Port gives an escort to that prince of above 5000 men, he will not think himself obliged to grant him safe passage. In a little time we shall know what will happen as to those points; but certainly the king of Sweden cannot wish for any thing better than that the Czar may not stand to his treaty; since, in that case, the Grand Visier would, in all appearance, fall a sacrifice to the Sultan's resentment; and new measures, I believe, would be taken at the Port, more for his Swedish Majesty's interest than what have been taken hitherto. The Czar went this morning for Carlsbadt, and it is thought will come back here again, after having drank the waters. We hear from Pomerania, that

I am the more obliged to you for, by how much less pretence I can claim to deserve them.

All those who are concerned in the late turn which has happened here, and truly that is much the largest part of the people of Britain, are likewise indebted to you for your hearty good wishes.

Our revolution of ministers made a great noise by the clamour of party emissaries;

the Swedes having formed a design of giving their enemy some diversion, by a descent into Zealand, had made their preparations at Malmoe, which the Danes getting notice of, went with part of their fleet before that place; and, having thrown in a considerable quantity of bombs, it is believed they have done great damage to the houses of the town, and destroyed several transport-ships. We flatter ourselves also here in the hopes that the northern confederates will soon be masters of the island of Rugen; and that afterwards Strahlsund will not be able to hold out long; considering that the garrison of that place is very numerous, and that the Swedes have the greatest part of their magazines and provisions in Rugen. The Czar gives also, I hear, 7000 men more of his troops to block up Stettin; and hath ordered clokes to be made for them. They give out here, likewise, that the Polanders, upon an invitation they have had from the Turks to renew their ancient friendship and alliance with the Porte, have declared that they will not, unless King Augustus be comprehended, and acknowledged: in a word, appearances, at present, seem to be very much against his Swedish Majesty; and if that Prince's expectations be balked at the Porte, as most people now think they are, his affairs are in a very desperate condition, and I should think it high time for the allies, in that case, to interpose a little in his behalf. I am, my Lord,

"Your Excellency's most obedient,

"Most humble servant,

"JAS. SCOTT."

and

and it were to be wished that some of our friends abroad had not taken so idle an alarm, and suffered themselves to be so grossly imposed upon.

Every thing goes on as well as in our circumstances it is possible to expect, and better than it could have done, if affairs had continued in those hands whom Queen and people were tired of, and under the utmost dissatisfaction with.

I have told my Lord Rivers (who is much your servant) and Dr. Hutton likewise, that it will be a very particular satisfaction to me to find an opportunity of doing you service. I repeat these professions to yourself, and you may depend upon me, for I have brought all my country sincerity with me to court, and by the grace of God I will preserve it.

I have already spoke to the Queen in general about you ; in a proper season I will be more particular*.

The elector's minister, Monsieur de Bothmar, has now been here some time. I hope he is satisfied with my behaviour towards

* Scott was soon after this appointed Envoy to the King of Poland.

him,

him, it shall not be my fault if he has not a right information of the true state of things in this kingdom, which his predecessor never had, and, by consequence, was never able to do his master any good service.

I shall be glad to hear often from you, and am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond,

SIR,

Jan. 19th, O.S. 1710-11.

AS busy a night as three posts received at once make this to be, I cannot omit returning you my very hearty thanks for your obliging letters of the 20th and 26th, N.S. and the satisfactory accounts contained in them.

Since Mr. Gordon works under so good a director, I make no doubt of his success. Cadogan is, I hear, coming hither, and his absence will make the conjuncture more favourable. I shall to-morrow speak to my Lord Orrery to hasten his departure, which will not, I hope, be long delayed, since his instructions are signed, his warrants passed, and all his necessary dispatches made. You

were very kind in giving a good character of him to the Pensionary.

He is a man of honour and integrity, and I hope that you will be satisfied with him.

As to the other *, I am sorry you do not think that he is likely to prove agreeable at the Hague ; since that matter has gone too far to be now altered. My Lord Raby writes me word, that he had trusted Monsieur d'Ilgen, the Secretary of State at Berlin, with the secret ; and from him, no doubt, the Prussian Resident at the Hague had his intelligence. I am sorry it has got wind abroad, since I assure you it has not yet been communicated to the cabinet-council here.

Nobody can have a truer value for Mr. Watkins † than I have. I am so far from wishing him any degradation, that I should do few things with greater pleasure than I should contribute to his advancement. I have some thoughts of this kind, which, when they are a little better digested, I will acquaint you with.

* Lord Raby. He had been Envoy-extraordinary to the court of Berlin.

† Henry Watkins was chief clerk to Bolingbroke, when Secretary at War, and afterwards was Judge-Advocate.

My Lord Marlborough brought, last night, his wife's key to the Queen *; and if he had begun by making this step, it had been better, since nothing could sour the Queen's mind more than the endeavours which he used to keep his Duchefs in her places. He promises very fair; I believe all the Queen's servants will behave themselves so, as to make his serving abroad not only practicable but easy to him.

I return you my Lord Albemarle's letter, which gives me a very real value for him. There appears in every line of it great sincerity and perfect good sense. Be so just to me, as to assure his Lordship of my most humble service, and of the great respect which I have for his character. I wish I could pretend to deserve that which he is pleased to bestow on me: but you may assure him, that I have a heart full of zeal for the service of the common cause, and that at least my earnest endeavours to do good shall not be wanting.

* The Duchefs of Marlborough was First Lady of the Bed-chamber, Lady of the Wardrobe, and Privy Purse to her Majesty, and Ranger of Windsor Parks; which last place she retained, as it had been given to her for a certain number of years.

There are many points in your letters to be answered, which I must defer till next post; by which time I will give you a better account in relation to the Spanish ships.

Go on, in God's name, to cultivate the harmony between our friends the Dutch and us. It is the best service which any man can do to both nations.

Such a turn as we have lately made in our ministry, is not to be wrought without some disorders; but surely fewer never happened upon such an occasion; our circumstances would not admit delaying of it to the end of the war. The distemper was precipitated, and we should have been too late to save ourselves, if we had not applied an immediate cure.

Adieu, I am ever, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

January 23, 1710-11.

BESIDES your letters of the 20th and 26th, which I acknowledged on Tuesday, I have now received yours of the 30th, N.S.

The Queen has been a little troubled with the gout; and three posts coming in together almost,

almost, have so overloaded us with business, that I have not been able to take her Majesty's pleasure concerning the Spanish ships, or indeed to lay the matter before my Lords of the Council. I will not fail by the very first opportunity to do both; and I hope to turn that affair to your satisfaction.

As to the great man, I own to you freely, he acts, in my opinion, a little and an ill-judged part; I should be tedious if I descended to particulars, but take this general idea of his present conduct and situation. The Queen, and those who are in her entire confidence, are desirous to please our friends in Holland, and to continue him at the head of the army. In order to this, every thing which, as Duke of Marlborough, or as general, he can expect, has been and will be complied with. Every thing necessary to make him easy in the field is done likewise, by the declaration which the Queen has made of his loudest enemy, the Duke of Argyle, to be general of the British troops in Spain*. He has been told by the Duke of Shrewsbury, by Mr. Harley, and

* And Ambassador-extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to King Charles.

by your humble servant, that since the Queen agrees to his commanding the army, it is our duty, and in the highest degree our interest, to support him, if possible, better than he ever yet was, and that he may depend upon this. He has seen, in other instances, that we were able to see and to pursue that which was right; why should he think us capable of judging on this occasion so wrong? He was told at first that he had nothing to reproach us with; that his wife, my Lord Godolphin, and himself, had thrown the Queen's favour away; and that he ought not to be angry if other people had taken it up. He was told, that his true interest consisted in getting rid of his wife, who was grown to be irreconcilable with the Queen, as soon as he could, and with the best grace which he could. Instead of this, he teased the Queen, and made the utmost effort to keep this woman in her places. He never brought the key till he had but three days given him to do it in, and till he found that a longer delay was not to be hoped for from the Queen's resolution; however, he now pretends to make a merit of this resignation. He has been told that he
must

must draw a line between all that is past, and all that is to come, and that he must begin entirely upon a new foot ; that if he looked back to make complaints, he would have more retorted upon him than it was possible to answer ; that, if he would make his former conduct the rule of his future behaviour, he would render his interests incompatible with those of the Queen. What is the effect of all this plain dealing?—he submits, he yields, he promises to comply, but he struggles to alleviate Meredyth's disgrace, and to make the Queen make a less figure by going back, than she could have done by taking no notice at all of the insolence of him and his comrades. He is angry at the Duke of Argyll's being appointed to command in Spain, and would, I suppose, have him punished for acting on a plan which we have all, even the Queen herself, been concerned in. In short, to finish this description, I doubt he thinks it possible for him to have the same absolute power which he was once vested with, and believes, perhaps, that those who serve the Queen are weak enough not to see the use that he would make of it. Once more, by all the judgment which I can form,

form, the exterior is a little mended; but at heart the same sentiments remain, and these heightened and inflamed by what he called provocations. We shall do what we can to support him in the command of the army, without betraying our mistress; and unless he is infatuated, he will help us in this design; for you must know, that the moment he leaves the service, and loses the protection of the court, such scenes will open, as no victories can varnish over*. This is an honest, and I hope a clear account. Lay your foundation here, and, whatever happens, judge from hence. I think that the best thing which the Duke can do, is, to go over as soon as possible; for which the letter of the States to the Queen gives us a very proper handle. This letter was delivered to-night to the Queen by Vryberge, and is very discreet.

A-propos to Vryberge, talking to him on Sunday, at the backstairs, of business, in a

* And this accordingly happened towards the end of the year, when the report of the commissioners of public accounts was made to the House of Commons. Great peculations were discovered; and though the Duke attempted a justification, yet it was not considered as satisfactory. He was dismissed from all his places, and his Secretary, Cardonnel, expelled the House of Commons.

very sober and calm manner, he took occasion to interrupt himself, and with some emotion to say, that as long as he felt that people had a confidence in him, he would have the same in them; but that when they had none, he knew how to live with them accordingly, or to that effect: the expressions were harsh, and the manner was harsher. I only answered by a smile, I consider him as the minister of the States; and in that character, and in that alone, will always show him respect.

I intreat you to assure the Pensionary of my most sincere respects, and to let him know, that whenever he has any commands for me, I will, upon the least hint, catch at an opportunity of obeying them. In doing this, I shall have the additional satisfaction of making my court to the Queen, who has the greatest value imaginable for the Pensionary's consummate wisdom, and inflexible integrity *.

I do not know whether some turn may not yet be found to gratify you in a minister at the Hague, since the person talked

* The Pensionary here meant is the Grand Pensionary of Holland, Heinsius, the first minister of the States.

of seems so little to be approved ; keep this to yourself, and leave us to work it.

I allow considerably for mistakes in intelligence, and for the affected boasts of the French before the opening of the campaign ; and yet I incline to think that they will make, all manner of ways, a great effort this year. I beg of you to be vigilant in getting what accounts you can of their naval preparations. The notice sent me in your last, I have received from other parts of France, with some other circumstances.

Sir James Wishart will be ordered, if these reports come confirmed, to press, with the stronger instances, that the Dutch should do more by sea, than of late years they have been used to do. Whilst we spare nothing to push the Flanders war, you must not suffer us to be ruined in our trade, and insulted on our coasts.

I will give you no farther trouble by this post, but conclude this long letter by my hearty assurances of being ever, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Feb. 9th, 1710-11.

YOURS of the 10th, N.S. came yesterday to my hands; and the satisfaction which it gave me, contributed not a little to recover me from a feverish indisposition which I have been under seven or eight days, but which is, I hope, entirely over.

I hope, my Lord Orrery * will give content on your side of the water; I am very sure that he will endeavour it: the rule which you lay down for his conduct is very just, and he shall not fail to go from hence as well instructed as we can possibly contrive to make him.

My Lord President, my Lord Chamberlain, and Mr. Harley, with your humble servant, are to wait upon the Queen, on Monday next, in order to hear my Lord Marlborough open the present state of the Netherlands, and the measures hitherto

* Appointed Envoy-extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States-general, and Council of State in the Netherlands.

taken

taken for the government of them*. After this conference, my Lord Orrery's private instructions will be drawn; and he will be going over some time in the next week.

It will be happy for those people that the Queen is at last let into this secret, and that her minister is for the future to act by her instructions.

My Lord Townshend has asked his dismissal, which I suppose he expected would otherwise have been sent him, and his letters of revocation will in a few days be ordered.

My Lord Raby must succeed him. The Queen had promised to call that minister to this employment; and she does not think fit to give him the mortification of a disappointment. The warmth which you apprehend in him, we will take care to cool; and, upon the whole matter, you will find him to be the best we could at present send you.

The Duke of Marlborough will go over, I believe, about the same time as my Lord

* Marlborough and Cadogan had hitherto been the representatives of the Queen in the government of the French and Spanish Netherlands.

Orrery proposes to go. I flatter myself that his Grace will own that I have acted a fair and friendly part with respect to him.

I will give you no farther trouble at this time, but conclude by assuring you, that I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

S I R,

Whitehall, March 2d, 1710-11.

YOUR letter of the second instant, N.S. is this moment come with three posts to my hands; and though it be extremely late, and my hurry of business very extraordinary, yet I cannot neglect to return you my most humble thanks for the satisfactory accounts which you are so kind as to give me.

I hope Mr. Decker sent you word how heartily we remembered you at my house on Monday last. The bill you drew upon me he may receive when he pleases, and I have another article of expence and trouble to employ you in. It is of mighty consequence at all times for us to be informed of the preparations of the enemy, and particularly

larly of the naval ones; but in this season of the year, unless we have better accounts than ordinary of this kind, it is quite impossible to take our measures for the operations of the summer with any tolerable certainty. I am therefore to entreat you, that you would find, if possible, some person to venture to the French ports, to Dunkirk, to Brest, to St. Maloes, and to any other place on the ocean. I would be glad to be informed what ships they have, and what condition they are in; what stores they have, what preparations they are making; and, particularly, whether transports of any sort are provided. I have other persons employed in this service, but the more spies are used, the better judgment, by comparing one advice with another, will be formed.

You once mentioned to me a correspondence at St. Germain; be so kind as to renew and improve that, and to let me hear what situation that court seems at present to be in, and what view there appears to be of the Chevalier's bestowing himself this summer. Lay out what money you think proper on these services, and it shall be

punctually answered with a thousand acknowledgments by your humble servant.

Whatever success Sir James Wishart has, we are all obliged to you for your kind part towards him, and the commission he is employed upon. I deal freely with you, we do not well digest the entire neglect of the sea-service, which Holland has, of late especially, run into, whilst we take so large a share of that of the land, which certainly is not our natural effort. Agree to our retrenching on the latter head, and we will readily agree to ease you of your burden on the former.

It is true that my Lord Townsend did desire to be recalled, and it is as true that he would have been so, in a post or two, if he had not desired it. I am not surprised that he was a favourite in Holland, he yielded some points, that if there was not more regard paid to the common interest and to the present circumstances than there is to him, he would be called to a severe account for *.

* This probably relates to Lord Townshend's negotiating the barrier treaty, voted injurious to the trade of Great Britain—suffering the States to be deficient in their quota of ships and land forces, and to carry on a trade with France, for which he met the censure of the House of Commons.

I hope

I hope my Lord Raby will succeed very well amongst you; for though I enter into the objections made to his character, yet he will find, that to please here, he must please on your side, and he is no bad courtier. Some cases may happen where it will be reasonable and even necessary for him to take a little more upon him than has usually been practised by our ministers at the Hague, but the cases will be few, and he will have strict and clear orders in them.

I am very heartily glad to hear that the Pensionary places that confidence in you, and shows those marks of friendship to you, which your behaviour and common good offices have deserved. They will find every day more and more the accounts which you have given them of this country to be true; and will come, it is to be hoped, at last, to judge better of our affairs than they have hitherto done.

I think, for the present, you need say no more, unless the handle be fairly given you, about Vryberge: when the Queen has any thing of very great importance to communicate to the Pensionary, she will do it through your channel; and, notwithstanding
ing

ing your modest opinion of yourself and of your services, I assure you that her Majesty has no servant she would confide so much in.

I must once more, upon this occasion, entreat you to assure the Pensionary of my most sincere esteem, and most hearty respect. I am making no fortune, I have nothing at heart but the good of my country, and I look upon that to consist, essentially, in a perfect harmony with Holland. I expect no ceremony from him, but desire him to look upon me as an honest man, and a well-wisher to the common cause, till he finds me otherwise.

My Lord Orrery went away, I hope, fully instructed in every thing which relates to the service, and I question not but he will act in such a manner as to give all reasonable persons satisfaction.

The Queen has been so gracious as to take from her own troops, that *douceur*, which in the last and in the present war, they have constantly enjoyed; but I must tell you, and we desire it may be understood so, that we know very well, that *Slopeguelt* would never have been grudged to the troops of Great Britain, if the Spanish Pro-

vinces had been governed with common justice, or treated with common humanity.

I am, &c.

*A Monsieur Petkum *.*

MONSIEUR,

Ce 6me Mars, 1710-11, V.S.

J'AI reçu votre lettre du 6-17me du mois passé, & j'accepte avec beaucoup de plaisir l'offre de votre correspondance.

Comme Sa Majesté la Reine, n'est entrée dans cette guerre que pour procurer & assurer la Paix de l'Europe, vous pouvez être persuadé qu'elle fera fort aise d'entendre que les François veulent faire des démarches de ce côté-là.

Nous savons très-bien, Monsieur, les peines que vous avez pris pour l'avancement d'une œuvre aussi pieuse que celle de la paix, &

* Petkum was Resident from the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, at the Hague. This Minister in 1709, volunteered a journey to Versailles, as a mediator in the effecting a Peace, which brought about the conferences, and he continued to correspond with France, after they were broken off. At the date of this Letter, he was employed by the Grand Pensionary to resume the negociations by a secret application to the Court of France. Bolingbroke somewhere calls him a Peace-Broker.

nous sommes très-convaincus que vous agirez toujours sur un plan convenable aux intérêts de tous les alliés.

Je me recommande, Monsieur, à l'honneur de vos bonnes grâces, & suis, &c.

To Lord Raby.

MY LORD,

March 6th, 1710-11.

I GIVE your Excellency the trouble of this private letter to assure you, that I have omitted nothing I thought might be proper towards preparing the people, with whom you are now to have to do, for all those impressions of esteem and affection, which I am sure your Excellency's conduct will make upon them, when they are so happy as to enjoy you amongst them.

Your Excellency will give me leave to recommend Mr. Drummond, a merchant of Amsterdam, in a particular manner to your confidence. He is in great friendship with many of the most considerable men in Holland; the Pensionary puts a just value upon him, and we have, on this side, very great obligations to him.

Your

Your Excellency knows how much mischief was done, and how much more attempted, by factious correspondences in Holland, during the changes which the Queen thought fit to make in her ministry; no one man contributed so much to give the Dutch a true notion of our affairs, to quiet their minds, and to resettlement a confidence, as this gentleman. He has merited the Queen's good opinion by these services to a great degree; and you may depend, my Lord, upon him as one who will prove a faithful and a useful servant to your Excellency.

I see how strenuously Mynderhusen denies his having read a letter which mentioned your Excellency's coming to the Hague. Trouble yourself, my Lord, I beseech you, no more about it, but depend upon the information I gave you as true.

Will your Excellency please to command with the greatest freedom any lights which you think I may be able to furnish you with, from this side, upon your entering into this new scene of business? I shall take a very particular pleasure in obeying you, and in approving myself, my Lord, &c.

To

To his Grace the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

March 13, 1710-11.

I HAVE had the honour of your Grace's three private letters of 10th, 15th, and 17th of this month, N.S. which have been laid before her Majesty, and by her order communicated to my Lord President and my Lord Chamberlain.

Mr. Harley is out of danger, his fever having this day entirely left him; but we dare not trouble him with any kind of business*.

Her Majesty commands me to say, that the regiments of Hill, Clayton, and Kane being, without dispute, proper to be detached on the service† which she intends, her desire was, that two other battalions might be ordered, whose colonels had not so high a rank as Mr. Hill, of which there are several in your Grace's army. That, in this case, there cannot possibly be any the least ground of complaint; whereas, according to the method your Grace pro-

* Mr. Harley had been stabbed by the Marquis de Guiscard.

† The expedition, under Hill and Walker, to Quebec.

poses,

poses, either Mr. Hill must not command, or a great hardship must be done to officers who have deserved very well; and the reason of that hardship must be her Majesty's partiality to Mr. Hill. Wynne has disputes in Flanders with officers who have served there all the war; this the Queen thinks may be a good reason against his going over to your Grace's army: but if his regiment was ordered on a service where no one could come in competition with him, she thinks it would be no reason against his going upon that occasion.

The Dutch Gazettes did, indeed, mention Mr. Hamilton's going over with the Duke of Argyle, but there is no manner of ground for the report; so that his regiment must not go upon this service, or he must command, or he must be laid aside; and the latter the Queen thinks too great a severity to be inflicted on a man who has served without reproach. As to Mr. Sutton, he did not, indeed, serve the last campaign, but he was extremely ill; and your Grace has been often pleased to dispense with the absence of those who had so unhappy a reason to plead in their behalf. He

is now well, his equipage gone or going, and he ready to follow; by consequence, the same remark holds good in his case which is made in that of Mr. Hamilton. The Queen farther observes, my Lord, that brigadiers are wanting in your Grace's army, and that if Hamilton and Sutton were taken away, you would not have sufficient to do the duty.

She directs me, likewise, to take notice, that the regiments named by your Grace, though they may perhaps be the youngest of those which went last over, are, however, not the youngest in the Flanders army; and besides, that when the detachment was made to Portugal, and upon other occasions, sending of the youngest corps has been no established rule. Upon the whole matter, her Majesty considers that if she should stay for an answer to this letter, the clothing and recruits of all the regiments would be sent away, whereas we are now in time to stop such as are necessary, the consequence whereof might be disappointing utterly the design she has formed; and therefore she is pleased to command me to let your Grace know, that she will have the regiments of
Hill,

Hill, Windrefs, Clayton, Kane, and Grant, immediately march, fo as to be *apporté* to embark at Oftend as foon as they fhall be called for; and that muft be very quickly, the tranfports for them being now ready in the Hope, and the men-of-war rendezvoufing in the Downs. Thefe regiments have fome men upon detachment at this time, I fuppofe, which muft neceffarily be ordered back.

Windrefs is himfelf here, ready to take care of what relates to his battalion on this fide of the water, and Grant as well as his lieutenant-colonel are both prifoners.

Her Majefty's illnefs, which we hope is now entirely over, has been fome hindrance to the difpatch of bufinefs, and makes me unable to fpeak fo certainly to your Grace as otherwife I fhould do upon feveral articles. In general, your Grace may be affured, and you may affure the Penfionary, and the reft of the foreign minifters, that the Queen will not be wanting on her part in any quarter of the fervice; but the Queen thinks that they ought to be told, that her quota of troops is constantly in the field, whilft a great, and even an unneceffary proportion

of that of Holland is thrown into garrisons*. That if she should think of replacing troops which they have no right to ask for, she must and will expect that they should bring into the field what she has a right to demand of them for the common cause.

I had not, in truth, read the Examiner which your Grace mentions, but I will take the best care I can to have honour done you, and no reflection cast upon you.

It is a hard matter to keep the minds of men, when they are thoroughly heated, from pushing every subject too far; and no man is more heartily sorry than I am for those occasions which have been given of raising the ferment. Your Grace may be assured of my services in every instance; and I shall be glad to see you (which it is in your power to be) the subject of universal panegyric.

I doubt Mr. Harley's wound hurts the public in many respects, and particularly in the Treasury. I have spoke to my Lord

* It may be useful to observe here, that, in general, the towns taken in Flanders had Dutch governors and garrisons as soon as taken.

Powlet * about the delay of the remittances, mentioned in your Grace's letter of the 13th; he says all possible care has been taken; and he promised me this morning, at St. James's, to write by this post to your Grace.

Certainly, my Lord, nothing can ease the war in Flanders, and every where else, but an effort by the Duke of Savoy. This is evidently true; and the Queen is, therefore, very glad of the care which your Grace has taken in writing and sending to that Prince. But, my Lord, do not think me too jealous, if I presume to caution you against French emissaries in general.

I know, in particular, of Saissan † nothing but good. However, I have already some

* First Commissioner of the Treasury.

† He was a native of France, and a bold, enterprising officer. When Tournay was besieged by the allies, the garrison was in want of officers; he endeavoured to get into the town, but failed, and was taken prisoner. He wrote to the French Minister to be exchanged, and was informed that his services were not necessary. He then applied to the Duke of Marlborough, who recommended him to King Augustus; and that prince made him a Major-general. A diversion being, in 1709, planned to assist the insurrection of the Cevennois, in the south of France, Saissan had the direction of it; landed at the port of Cette, near which was his paternal estate: and though the expedition was not successful, yet he contrived to keep the Duc de Noailles' army employed, and prevented his joining the forces of King Philip; for this the Queen afterwards rewarded him, and he continued in great favour and esteem with the Duke of Marlborough.

reason to say, and shall have more in a little time, that we have suffered extremely by the ear which has been given to these *aventuriers* both in Holland and England.

I have nothing at present in command to say to your Grace on the subject of the two treaties proposed with the Elector of Bavaria, more than that the scheme seems to be very extraordinary; and her Majesty, who has never heard of it till now, would be glad to know what judgment the States, who have had it some time, it seems, under consideration, make thereupon? Your Grace need make no doubt of the Queen's coming into any reasonable proportion of charge, where a real benefit is to accrue to the common cause; but she is desirous to know whereabouts the expence may probably come, and what proportion of it will be expected from her.

I cannot conclude this letter without letting your Grace know, that when the books were this morning opened for the lottery, it appeared that there had been to the value of 275,000 l. lodged for it more than the million and a half; that 700,000 l. were still offered to come in; and that the remitters

ters had 200,000 l. for their share ready to pay in. I am apt to believe this mighty concurrence of people may occasion a new lottery on the same model; this is certain, that we have money and credit; and though the former cannot increase, the latter will, in spite of faction, revive.

I hope by Friday to write more particularly to your Grace on some matters which I have not yet very fully the Queen's orders upon: in the mean time, I doubt you will think me tedious; but I could not, for your Grace's sake and my own, contrive to be shorter.

I cannot have Guiscard's letter copied this post, since I do not trust it out of my own hands, except to one clerk; by the next post your Grace shall have it sent you. In the mean while, I believe it will not be amiss to let the Pensionary know, that I find, both by intelligence of my own and by that which Count Maffei has communicated to me, that in France they think themselves very well informed of what passes in Holland.

I have given the same caution to Monsieur Vryberge. I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

March 13, 1710-11.

MY last, Sir, began with the ill news of Mr. Harley's being stabbed; this shall begin with the good tidings of his being out of danger, since the fever which he had upon him is entirely gone.

The Lords of the Council have been twice with Guiscard in Newgate. What he confesses is trifling; and, to say truth, I do not imagine he knows any thing very material. However, I must not omit to desire you, as I have desired my Lord Marlborough, to let the Pensionary know that I am very well assured the French ministers think their intelligence, both in Holland and here, very good. I hope we shall lop off those channels of mischief, and I make no doubt but that the necessary care will be taken on your side.

It is impossible to express to you the firmness and magnanimity which Mr. Harley showed upon this surprising occasion: I, who have always admired him, never did it so much; the suddenness of the blow, the sharpness

sharpness of the wound, the confusion which followed, could neither change his countenance, nor alter his voice.

You will wonder when I tell you that the Whigs in the House of Commons, on this occasion, which demanded the indignation of every man who pretends to common humanity, behaved themselves simply; but when the matter came before the House of Lords, they left their seats; and since they could not hang Mr. Harley, they were resolved to shew no resentment to Guiscard for stabbing him.

This morning the subscriptions to the lottery were to begin; but 270,000 l. more than the million and half were already lodged, the remitters were disappointed of putting in 200,000 l. and other persons of 700,000 l. more. You see, Sir, we have some money left; for I am told that the foreign part was less this time than it was the last: and I make no doubt but that our credit will revive. It has sickened by villainy for a time, but the pestilential blasts are over; and I make no doubt but we shall see this fair plant flourish as much as ever.

I am to take my share in the obligation

which my Lord Orrery has to you; and I am very glad his first appearance amongst you pleased so well; I do not at all doubt but he will grow in your esteem.

I hope my Lord Raby will take such a pli as to make himself acceptable; you may be assured that he shall not want frequent admonitions upon this head. We will neglect nothing in our power, or which is fit for us to do, towards keeping you in good humour; but you must remember that compliances and good offices are to be mutual.

I begin to think that Sir James Wishart will have no success, for the squadrons set down in yours are no more to be reckoned, than our cruizers in the foundings, or our Turkey convoy; but give me leave to say, that as we could not have justified ourselves if we had neglected to press the States upon this head, so they will find it hard to justify themselves for being so extravagantly deficient in their marine quota.

I should be extremely glad to hear what certainty there is in the report, which comes almost in every letter, of the Chevalier's going a progress after Easter, the enemy
have

have many irons at this time in the fire; do they in earnest mean that he shall take some part, this summer, upon him?

Your inclosed letters I have forwarded, finding nothing mischievous or suspicious in them; perhaps this step may draw the correspondence into our channel, and some discovery may be made; if none is, the trouble is however not great.

I do not at all wonder that you find the ministers so much at a loss. If I would look back, and give my pen leave to move, I think I could show the most egregious marks of folly or knavery that ever appeared in our manner of declining peace, and dragging on the war. What I said about the barrier in a former letter, was in confidence between you and me, whatever the treaty be in its own nature, how little soever honourable or safe to Britain, sure I am nothing is now to be said of it.

I am sorry that my Lord Marlborough gives you so much trouble; it is the only thing he will ever give you. I must, upon this occasion, take notice to you how very sensible the Queen is, as well as her ministers, of the pains which you have taken
so

so usefully and so effectually in her service. Her Majesty will take an opportunity very soon, of acknowledging it to you.

I return you the original letter which you sent me; I beg of you to make my most humble service acceptable to the writer of it, and assure you, that I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

S I R,

March 16th, 1710-11.

THIS morning, your letter of the 24th instant, N.S. came to my hands, as all your preceding ones have done, very safely. I am to return you abundance of thanks for the intelligence you were so kind to transmit to me; and I must entreat your continuance of them: I am sensible it is very difficult to be rightly informed of what is doing at places so far within France as Brest is, but I would stick at no price to have authentic accounts of the enemy's naval preparations. Part of the intelligence contained in Guiscard's intercepted packet, related to a design for which preparations are making here and abroad. It would be therefore

therefore of great use, in order to blind the enemy more effectually, if any way could be found of insinuating that the troops, which are to embark at Ostend, were really designed to make a descent upon the coast of Spain; and as a farther strength to this report, it might be at the same time hinted, that some of the Spanish merchants here have conferred with Lord Dartmouth upon it. As to yourself, you must give me leave to say that when the Pensionary has any thing of more than ordinary moment to communicate to the Queen, or those who may have the honour to be in her ministry, I know of no man so proper to do her Majesty the good service of transmitting it hither as yourself.

By very good intelligence from France, I am induced to believe that their efforts for carrying on the war this year, are even greater than they promised themselves; and then, the hopes they have raised of the King of Sweden's entering into Saxony, and giving a great disturbance to the empire, will incline them to see what turn these affairs are likely to take before they hearken to any proposals of peace.

It

It is my opinion, that their expectations from the King of Sweden are too well grounded; and that he has a better understanding with France than we seem to apprehend, even since his protestation against the neutrality*.

We must acknowledge that the allies are, in these respects, in an unhappy situation; but I am entirely of your opinion, that no advances towards peace are to be made first on our part.

The clause which you mention as desired by some people, to be inserted in our lottery, is very surprising; I should be sorry to have it known here that any such thought could enter into the mind of any body in Holland.

You may assure yourself, that we shall proceed with so much caution, as not to give the Dutch any grounds of jealousy,

* This treaty was intended to secure the peace of the empire, and to prevent any impediment from the northern powers to the operations of the grand alliance against France. The allies agreed, on their part, to furnish a guarantee army of 20,000 men, while Russia, Poland, Denmark, Prussia, and Sweden, were to observe a strict neutrality. This was signed by the allies, Denmark, and the Lords Regents of Sweden. But Charles XII protested against it, backed by the Grand Signior.

whatever

whatever reasonable complaints we may have to make of them.

It is very possible, that the reason which you assign for my Lord Marlborough's not being concerned in the treaty for the barrier, may be the true one, but it is no good one on his Lordship's side.

I believe my Lord Orrery will meet with many difficulties before he can settle the Netherlands in a good method of government; he went from hence very well instructed; and I hope the extortions which those provinces have laboured under, are now at an end; and by degrees his Lordship will be able, with his prudent management, to settle them in a state of tranquillity*.

* In the time of the Dukes of Brabant, there was a Council of State who had the management of the treasury, and the taxes passed through their hands. The Spaniards abolished the Council, which was restored in this war by the allies, at the intercession of the States of Brabant; but though the Council was restored, the extortions did not cease, and Lord Orrery was sent to relieve that oppressed country. The editor has two papers on this subject; the first is indorsed, "Translation of a Letter to her Majesty," without name or date, and charges the Duke of Marlborough and General Cadogan with injustice, rapacity, and oppression, and in terms very severe. The other is signed by the Duc d'Arenberg, le Comte d'Ursel, le Comte d'Erps, and le Comte de Lannoy, members of the Council of State; and is dated Brussels, 24th February, 1711. It contains articles of complaint and proofs against Cadogan; they accuse him of extortion and tyranny, and state particular instances. This last memoir was sent in consequence of her Majesty's orders for a secret enquiry into the conduct of her minister.

As to Mr. Watkins, I assure you I shall be always ready to show him any civility, or do him any service in my power : I desire you will sound him, and try what inclinations he would have to be secretary to the embassy at the Hague, if it was offered him, in order to his being employed in that station at a negociation of peace, and find out how soon he would be willing to be declared, which the sooner it was done the better, to prevent any body else putting in. I look upon Mr. Watkins as a man every way equal to the post, and I hope he will like it. A relation of mine is going to be secretary to Lord Raby at the Hague, so that there will be immediate necessity of Mr. Watkins's leaving the army, though he should be declared secretary.

The news of troubles in South France would be very agreeable to us, since the more we consider our present circumstances, the more we are convinced, that nothing but a powerful diversion, given by the Duke of Savoy, can possibly prevent the French being superior to us in all other parts, which of late years they have never been able to accomplish. I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

March 20th, 1710-11.

THE favour of your letter of the 27th instant, N.S. came yesterday to my hands.

The miserable fellow who stabbed Mr. Harley, is dead of his wounds and bruises, in Newgate. Our friend recovers apace, and will, we hope, in few days be able to return to the head of business; his short absence from which situation is, I do assure you, very sensibly felt.

I thank you for all the intelligences which you send me, particularly for that of the three ships sailed from Dunkirk, since our transports are at this time in more than ordinary motion between this island and Holland, between the Downs and Spithead, as well as in other parts.

I have observed, in some of the last prints from Holland, an article, as if the embarkation, now making, was intended for North America. I take this report to be grounded on Nicolson's being ordered back to take care of Port-Royal *, which surrendered last

* In Nova Scotia, and called Annapolis Royal, in compliment to the Queen.

year to the Queen's forces. It is, however, of great consequence to the service that the enemy should be as much as possible perplexed about the destination of this squadron; and therefore I desire you once more to insinuate, as artfully as you can, that Nicolson goes back single (which is likewise true) and carries only a few spare arms along with him, but that the other preparations are intended for the coast of France or Spain. It is certain that there are three months' provisions put on board, which may be owned, and will be a convincing proof that the West-Indies are not in our view.

We are not pleased with the usage of Sir James Wishart; and it is a proposition never to be justified, that you have but thirteen ships, exclusive of convoys and cruisers, this year at sea*. Besides, we hear that the scheme is formed for throwing twenty-four battalions into garrison this year more than were the last, which is such a diminution of that quota which Holland ought to keep, in proportion to ours, in the field, as is really intolerable.

* The proportion of naval armament to be furnished by the States should have been forty-two ships of war.

I will

I will not say any thing of the difficulties which, on account of their commerce, are thrown in the way, with respect to the funds which the States of Brabant are to furnish for the Imperialists and Palatines, because I confess you have some colour of excuse for opposing the new imposition upon white salt and corn-brandy.

The Queen takes indeed from you five regiments; but these are part of seven which have served in Flanders these two years, over and above her quota. You complain, and she has already given orders to the Duke of Marlborough to replace them with foreigners, or even to do more, if reasonably he can; besides which, two squadrons of the nine intended to be sent will go over to you, the rest being stopped for reasons which may easily be guessed. I mention these particulars to you, because I am sure that you do us, upon all occasions, justice, and because it is fit that our friends in Holland should see on what principles we act.

I have a large post to dispatch, and therefore must conclude. I will only add, that we yesterday went through the estimate of extraordinaries in the committee of supply,

which is the last of the public ones for the service of the current year. The sums now voted amount to 6,902,547l. 14s. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

Adieu. I am, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

March 20, 1710-11.

IN my public letter, I speak to your Grace on the subject of the Prussian troops, and of the Imperialists and Palatines; in this I am to acquaint your Grace, that the Queen was extremely concerned to find in how great backwardness the forage and bread are.

Mr. Harley's misfortune, you easily imagine, retards every thing which relates to the treasury. However, my Lord Poulet assures me, that the whole arrear, due for former years to the contractors, has been paid, and that care is now taken for the anticipation of this year's contract.

I was not able to speak to the Chancellor of the Exchequer yesterday, he being at rest when I went to wait upon him; and the Committee, which sat immediately afterwards

wards, having continued till late at night. I hope to see him before I close this, in which case I may perhaps have something to add.

I have taken care to have the proper hint given to the Examiner; and your Grace may be assured that I cannot have a greater pleasure than to find it in my power to serve you.

As to the treaty with the Elector of Bavaria, I find my Lord President, my Lord Chamberlain, and Mr. Harley, who have only been spoke to in it, agree in opinion that the whole turns upon his sincerity. If we suppose the two treaties executed, France will have for the field so many troops the more, as the garrisons of those places amount to, which are to be comprehended in the neutrality. We shall be freed from our apprehensions on the side of the Maese, we shall have in our hands so much more of the barrier; and we shall have the Bavarian and the Elector of Cologne's troops to countervail what the French will be able to make use of the more of their own. The Elector will have his Electorate, and the Imperial troops in that country may be applied to the war, on the side of Italy, or else-

where. On this supposition, the projects may be agreeable enough to the interests of the common cause. But if one may suppose that this intrigue is really an artifice of France, then the consequences will be bad, and the bargain fatal; since, in such case, we give an opportunity of rekindling that fire in the empire, which your Grace once extinguished so gloriously to yourself, and so happily to all Europe: and this accident would be the more terrible, because of the just apprehensions which may be entertained of the King of Sweden. It startles a man to consider this prince in Saxony, the Elector of Bavaria, at the head of an army in his own country, and the French acting offensively on the Rhine.

I state both sides of the question, as well as I am able, to your Grace, and have only to add upon this head, that the Queen is come to no definitive judgment in the matter, but waits for farther lights from your Grace, and from the States, before she determines her opinion.

Guiscard is dead, and though he gave the Lords of the Council the trouble of going three or four times to Newgate, yet he related little more than coffee-house con-

versation. He pretended that *Saiffan étoit un Babillard*, and that the best accounts, or at least the first which he had of his projects were those which he pumped out of him himself. What other intelligence he had from Holland he had from Chabanetti, as I have had the honour to tell your Grace, and as you will see by the copies of his letters.

I have a thought in my mind, which may be for the advantage of Mr. Watkins, but I would not propose it, neither, I am sure, would he embrace it, without your Grace's approbation first obtained. There must be a secretary to the embassy at the Hague; and that person will naturally be so to the peace, whenever we shall be so happy as to see that advance. This post Mr. Watkins may have, and yet not be obliged to quit his attendance on your Grace during the campaign.

Since I have writ thus far, I have been with Mr. Harley, who wishes himself able to contribute to the advancement of the service, but says that Medina * has some

* Sir Solomon de Medina, contractor for bread to the British forces in Flanders.

time ago received the anticipation for bread in tallies, which were the best the treasury had to give him, and were really good.

Craggs was with me this evening, and I suppose will acquaint your Grace with what passed: as far as he thought proper to open himself, I talked very freely to him*.

Your Grace may be assured of a most faithful and obedient servant in

H. St. J.

To Mr. Cadogan.

SIR,

March 20, 1710-11.

I HAVE received both your letters of the 17th of March, N.S. and it was a very great satisfaction to me to find, by your private one of that date, that you remember an old friend, who never did any thing to be forgot.

I hope my Lord Duke is satisfied that I

* Harley, in his "Brief Account of Public Affairs," relates, that about the beginning of February there began to be a division among those called Tories in the House; and Mr. Secretary St. John thought it convenient to be lifting a separate party for himself. These conferences with Craggs, the Duke's secretary as Master of the Ordnance, were probably with a view of gaining over the Duke to his party, or, what is more likely, to the fixing him with the new ministers.

have been uniform in my character, and that as I could not engage in measures contrary to my opinion, so I could not engage in resentments contrary to my professions.

There is nobody who has more esteem for you than myself, and from the first hour of our acquaintance I have without any interruption endeavoured to show it. As to complaints which may have been made, I cannot be so insincere as to say that Flanders has not been very fruitful of clamour for some time. I believe it is still very practicable to put an end to the applications on this head, which have hitherto been hindered from being public, by putting an end to the grievances. No one has it so much in his power as you to contribute to the ease of that oppressed country*, and no one therefore can so easily purchase this reputation; which will at the same time add a new ornament to a thousand others which adorn your character, and be of very substantial service to my Lord Duke.

* The members of the Council of Brabant mention in their memorial an assertion of Cadogan, that though he was no longer Envoy, yet he retained his post of Quarter-master-general; meaning that he still retained a power sufficient to be revenged of his enemies.

If I have been so happy as to be useful to you in the late disorders which have happened here, the only return I desire for it is the continuance of your good opinion and friendship to, Sir, &c.

To the Earl of Orrery.

MY LORD,

March 20th, 1710-11.

DUPUY is very well known to me for a man who has been active in the little underhand workings towards peace; and according to the best accounts I have been able to get of him, he has behaved himself very honestly in all his dealings upon this score. I think your Lordship did extremely well in giving him the answers you mention. He is not gone to Geneva, but directly to Paris, on some encouragement which the French ministers have given him. However, I must own my opinion, that the enemy will, neither through this channel, nor any other, think of conveying terms of peace to the allies, till they see how we shall be prepared to oppose the great effort which they pretend to make, what turn the negotiation at
Vienna

Vienna * is likely to take, and what diversion they may expect from their new ally the King of Sweden, and their old one the Turk.

You reason very justly, my Lord, as to our home-affairs; I have been long fixed in the same opinion, you are my witness for it. I think we shall come to a settlement on the rising of the Parliament, and before winter, I hope we shall have a peace, as well as a parliament prepared to give a sanction to it.

I beg of your Lordship to make my compliments to the Count d'Urfel, and to the Count de Milan, whose letters I will do myself the honour to answer by the first post.

I hope we shall be able to instruct Lord Raby so well, that he will give no just occasion of offence; and if he proves a little more stiff in some points than his predecessor used to be, I shall not like him the worse for it.

The Duke of Marlborough, I knew, would make those advances to you which he does. His friends endeavour to insinuate here how entirely he desires to engage in the present measures, and with the present mi-

* To settle the differences between that Court and Savoy.

nisters. I think both for your ease, and for the Queen's service, you must live perfectly well together.

My Lord, forgive the fondness of a friend, if I repeat my earnest desires, I dare say very unnecessarily, to you, that you will leave nothing undone towards settling the country where you are, on a better foot; and that for the honour of the Queen's service, and of the nation, you will stand in the gap against any violences which may be offered. Your Lordship may depend on all the support which the Queen can give you, and of her thanks for this service.

I am, &c.

Forgive this hasty scrawl, writ when I am quite tired with two days' hard labour.

A Monsieur Buys.

MONSIEUR,

Ce 23^{me} Mars, 1710-11.

JE vous suis extrêmement obligé de l'honneur que vous m'avez fait par votre lettre du 27^{me} de ce mois, N.S.

Monsieur Harley, grâces à Dieu, se porte
de

de jour en jour beaucoup mieux, & nous espérons qu'en fort peu de tems il sera en état de recommencer son travail, pour le plus grand avantage des deux nations, & de la cause commune. Je ne puis pas m'empêcher de vous dire, que par ce que les affaires tant domestiques qu'étrangères souffrent durant la maladie de ce ministre, nous sentons évidemment combien grand auroit été notre perte, en cas que le coup qu'il reçût eût été mortel.

J'espère que les difficultés que nous avons eu à combattre sont aplanies. Nous fournirons près de sept millions de livres sterling aux dépenses de l'année courante, & nous trouverons les moyens nécessaires pour le payement de nos dettes.

Je suis fort aisé de voir que le Duc de Marlborough est content de nous : ce qu'il y a de certain c'est qu'on a usé à son égard de toute la bonne foi, & de toute la sincérité possible.

Il faut faire bonne mine à mauvais jeu ; vous le faites, nous le faisons, & la France, pour le moins autant qu'aucune autre Puissance. Il me semble qu'elle veut voir les succès de ces intrigues qu'elle trame depuis quelque

quelque tems, avant que de songer tout de bon à la Paix.

Je suis Monsieur, avec toute l'estime que vous méritez,

Votre, &c.

Nous sommes ici fort sensibles des difficultés qui se sont trouvés dans l'affaire des deux vaisseaux, & des obligations que nous vous avons en particulier; Monsieur Drummond est fort bien instruit de mes sentimens sur ce chapitre.

Ce me fera un très-grand plaisir de travailler conjointement avec Monsieur Vryberge, à faire des réglemens qui puissent prévenir de telles disputes à l'avenir.

To Lord Raby.

MY LORD,

March 23d, 1710-11.

IF my former did not, this letter I hope will find your Excellency safely arrived at the Hague.

Unless you forbid me to do it, I intend
to

to fend Mr. Harrifon * over to you. His being my kinfman, I do not defire fhould be any part of his merit ; but I am confident your Excellency will find him very capable of ferving you, from his own capacity, and from the lights which he will receive in my office, by looking back in the books, and taking the clue of all bufinefs at this time tranfacting in Holland. Mr. Watkins is of great fufficiency in all parts of foreign negociation, and I will be answerable, your Excellency may place an entire confidence in him, but he will not, I doubt, be able to attend at the Hague till towards the end of the year, unlefs we fhould be fo happy as to have a treaty fooner fet on foot, and of this I own I fee very little profpect.

Your Excellency will allow me, I know, to write with the utmoft freedom to you, and I fhould be backward in doing it perhaps to another.

* Thomas Harrifon. Swift fays of him, " A little pretty fellow, with a great deal of wit, good fenfe, and good nature ; he has nothing to live on but being governor to one of the Duke of Queensbury's fons, for 40l. a year." Swift recommended him to St. John, who gave him the appointment of Secretary to Lord Strafford, which he did not long enjoy ; he died in February, 1713. No lefs ever grieved Swift fo much.

When it was first whispered that you was to succeed my Lord Townshend at the Hague, I found by several hints which I received, and by several private accounts which were sent me, that the Dutch were extremely alarmed. They know full well how very deficient they have been and still are, in almost every part of the service; they are sensible that there is on our side some latent resentments at the air of superiority which in many instances they have assumed, and at the gross impositions which they have passed upon us; they are sensible that the easiness of our ministers gave occasion to all this, and that their easiness was owing either to the account which Holland made them find on that side of the water, or to the dictates and orders of a faction at home, which has supported itself here, among other artifices, by that of being popular there. Your Excellency sees clearly, from this view, the source of those apprehensions, which the naming of you occasioned in Holland, and I must be of opinion that they were to your honour.

The use I propose to make of this account, which I wish your Excellency may
not

not think tedious, is that you will be pleased to use the ministers you shall treat with in the gentlest and softest manner possible, and rather to over-act this part than otherwise; after which, whenever the honour or interest of Britain comes to clash with the measures of the Dutch, your Excellency will show a firmness which your predecessors never did show, and be by so much the more justified, by how much the more tenderly you have indulged them before.

Your Excellency was pleased to mention in one of your former letters, as I remember, your conduct towards the Duke of Marlborough; upon which I will presume to acquaint you that my opinion is, that you should live with him in the most friendly manner, and in the best concert: He has taken the pli of submitting with the utmost resignation to the Queen, and of re-establishing a confidence with those who are now in her service. Your Excellency and he will necessarily act in several matters jointly, and her Majesty's service will require a constant correspondence between you; after all this, whatever caution is proper to be

be observed, I am sure your Excellency will not be wanting in.

The Queen has not yet determined about your successor at Berlin, but I hope before the next post her Majesty's resolution herein will be taken. I join in opinion with your Excellency as to Mr. Whitworth, but fear the other destination is too public, and is gone too far to be altered*. I am, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

March 27th, 1711.

YOUR Grace's letter of the 21st of this month N.S. together with the postscript written after you had seen Mr. Lumley, I read to the Queen, and it is a great pleasure to me to be able to tell your Grace that I never saw her Majesty better pleased on any occasion; she commanded me to let your Grace know that nothing but her illness had hindered her from writing to you, that now

* Charles Whitworth, had been Envoy-extraordinary to the Czar's court, and was now appointed Ambassador-extraordinary. From this gentleman, the Secretary of State received an account of Muscovy, written with judgment and accuracy, which is in the possession of the Editor.

ſhe is better you ſhall very ſoon hear from her, that ſhe is obliged to you for your concern for her health, and that ſhe deſires to be kindly remembered to you.

Your Grace, my Lord, has fully answered all the Queen's intentions relating to the five regiments, by the orders which you have been pleaſed to give; and I hope that they are by this time embarking at Oſtend, the convoy being gone with a fair wind and mild weather.

Your Grace may be aſſured of my ſincere endeavours to ſerve you, and I hope never to ſee again the time when I ſhall be obliged to embark in a ſeparate intereſt from you. Craggs dined with me to day, we were ſome time alone, and he will inform you how eaſy we think it is to reſtore and confirm that confidence which is to be deſired among people who can, and who, for the public good, ſhould give the law.

Mr. Harley does not mend ſo faſt as his friends wiſh, and as the public ſervice requires: the phyſicians and ſurgeons do however give hopes that in ten days' time he will be in a condition to come abroad.

I have talked with my Lord Poulet, on
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that part of your Grace's letter which relates to the money advanced to the forage, and have by the Queen's order recommended this service very earnestly to him: He assures me that the bills shall be punctually answered, and I hope that the credit will now revive so fast, and the supplies proceed with so much vigour, that we shall be able to make, at least for this year, as good a figure as our friends could wish, and a much better than our enemies expected.

I writ to your Grace in former letters all that Guiscard said concerning Saiffan; the two material ones which Chabanetti sent to the villain *, I have likewise transmitted to your Grace; and I herewith inclose the papers which we intercepted first; so that

* Guiscard was a man of most profligate principles: he had fled from France, his native country, and by some means had got into employment under the last administration, was made Major-general, and went with Earl Rivers upon an expedition to the coast of France, in which not succeeding, the Earl and the troops went on to Lisbon, and Guiscard returned home to England, where he got a pension of 500l. per ann. This pension was reduced to 400l. but Guiscard by extravagance becoming involved in debt, and meeting with no encouragement from Oxford or Bolingbroke, he endeavoured to make his peace with France, by giving information of what was going forward here, to the French ministry.—His letters were intercepted, and he was taken into custody on a charge of high-treason.—Some of the publications of that time assert that he meditated the assassination of the Queen.

you

you have now before you all the information which I can possibly give you.

I have nothing more at present to say to your Grace on the subject of the treaty with the Elector of Bavaria; the sentiments of the Queen in this affair, my other letters explain, and we must wait for farther accounts, when the person employed returns, to settle our opinions better.

I dare say, and will answer, that your Grace will do your part for the good of the ministry and of the credit. We yesterday had an accident in the Committee of Supply, which might have given some damp to the latter, had it not been retrieved with a high hand to-day. They put a negative on the tax upon leather, which is a certain fund for more than 130,000*l.* a year; the matter was taken up with great warmth. This day was appointed to go again into the Committee of Ways and Means; we renewed the same motion under other terms, the rules of the house not permitting us to do it under the same words, and we carried the question by a majority of 106. We now think that the remaining three millions will be effectually provided, on grateful and

secure funds, but the act for sinking the public debts cannot go forward till Mr. Harley comes abroad.

The Queen is very well pleased to find that the French think of peace again, and her Majesty approves of the answer concerted to be returned to the Duke of Lorraine *. Your Grace will receive her farther orders herein when you shall have heard again from the Duke; in the mean time, she desires that my Lord Raby may be acquainted with what has passed or may occur upon this subject, since, when your Grace shall have left the Hague, this affair may still continue on foot.

I thank your Grace for the Papers which you send me, relating to Marfaut; but must confess, I look upon him to be a scoundrel fellow, who deserves no credit. I have taken up Halle mentioned in one of his letters; the man's true name is Charlton. He killed a man in a duel some time ago, fled from Britain, is now come over to take his trial, and by all circumstances had no acquaint-

* This unfortunate Prince offered his mediation to bring about a peace, in hopes of gaining an interest with the Allies for the recovery of his territories, which had been seized by France.

ance with Marfault more than drinking in his company, by accident, the night before he left Rotterdam.

Mr. Lumley * will have been able to tell your Grace, how sincerely I wish you established on that bottom which alone suits the merit and the character of a man like you. I do not believe there is any inclination wanting in the persons mentioned by your Grace, and confidence will soon be restored.

To this happy end my utmost diligence shall be employed, and your Grace will find that no one is with more honesty, nor with greater respect, my Lord,

Your Grace's, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

March 30, 1711.

I HAVE received both your letters; that of the 30th of this month, N.S. was left in my wife's hands by Mr. Decker, that of the

* The honourable General Henry Lumley.

4th of April came to me by the post. I will begin by answering the former.

The want of a peace on all sides is evident; the ill situation of the enemy's affairs, however disguised by their artifice, and by that effort which the constitution of their government enables them to make, we can enough discover. The bad condition which we are in is likewise too visible to be kept as a secret. Britain, exhausted by extending the war too wide, and taking upon themselves the load of other people, Holland shrinking back from their quotas; and the government there grown poor, whatever private men may be. The confederates grown to look upon this as the war of the two maritime powers, playing at fast and loose with us; and in short, the opportunities of making a good peace, whilst the enemies lay stunned with the several strokes they had received, absolutely lost. Whoever puts these several propositions together, will easily conclude that peace will be by so much the greater blessing, by how much the sooner it comes.

I hope to be able before Tuesday to talk at large with the President, the Chamberlain,
and

and Mr. Harley (though the latter is yet hardly able to rise from his bed) upon the contents of your first letter. By that post therefore you may expect such an account of our opinions and dispositions here, as may be made use of. What is said here, is only from myself to yourself. If you see Pensionary Buys, you may let him know that I have promised to write fully to you on this subject on Tuesday, and that the devotions of this week having hindered me from conferring with our ministers, are the reason of my not doing it now.

The question which you ask about the restrictions laid by Parliament upon the administration with regard to peace, is easily answered; and I thought the address made by both Houses at their first meeting, had put the matter out of all dispute. Care was taken to leave that matter wholly to the Queen, and to promise to acquiesce in any terms which her Majesty should think reasonable. You may remember that you wrote me word at that time how much notice was taken, and how much use was made in Holland of those expressions.

Sir James Wishart is ordered to come

immediately home, since he must make a very ill figure if he continue longer in a place where his errand is so coldly received. I have writ, upon the first resolution of the States, a letter to Monsieur Vryberge, by the Queen's order, which is intended rather to show that we have done our parts in pressing the Dutch, and that we are not imposed on by the gloss with which they affect to cover their deficiency, than because we expect it should produce any farther compliance.

I thank you for your care and earnest endeavours after intelligence. I found the office very defective upon this account, and would be glad to settle, if possible, some better correspondence. It would be very well worth while to settle a man at Brest, at any allowance, if a safe and expeditious method of receiving his letters might be contrived.

We wait for nothing but Mr. Harley's recovery, to put you on some establishment for the Queen's service, and I do assure you, tha my Lord President and my Lord Chamberlain join with me in thinking the Queen has no servant abroad who deserves better
from

from her hands. If any thoughts of peace go on, I could wish you would take the trouble of a journey hither. We can better talk than write, and you will more fully enter into our sentiments; besides, we shall convey to the Dutch ministers, our thoughts through you with much more freedom than we shall do by any other channel. Pretences for your journey cannot be wanting.

You easily imagine how much all affairs, and particularly those of the Treasury, suffer by Mr. Harley's indisposition; but my Lord Poulet assured me last night, that the Treasury has settled one remittance of 100,000*l.* to go to-night, and two of 50,000*l.* each, to go by the following posts.

I am, &c.

P.S. I forgot to desire you to explain what Lord Townshend and Pensionary Buys parted ill about; I cannot think it a misfortune, let it be owing to what it will.

Since I writ my letter, I have seen Mr. Harley, who is able to walk about the room, and will, we hope, now be very soon abroad, he assures you of his very humble service,
and

and returns you many thanks for your kind concern for his health, and for the reputation of the Treasury.

The contractors grumble that the whole advance was not remitted to them, but they forget that they have received two years of Lord Godolphin's arrears.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

April 4th, 1711.

I STOPPED the post till this morning, in hopes of being able to go through my dispatches, but I continue still so violently afflicted with the head-ach, that the most I can do will be to get to the end of this letter to your Grace.

Your Grace knows, by this time particularly, what care has been taken by the Commissioners of the Treasury about the remittances; so that I shall say nothing upon that head to you.

The Queen thinks, as your Grace does, concerning the two treaties on foot with the Elector of Bavaria, and wishes that the Imperial court was as sensible as we are
of

of the necessity of pushing the war with vigour.

The affair which Monsieur Mellaredé * negotiates at Vienna seems to hang, after all the sanguine assurances so frequently repeated. Your Grace, by this means, is likely to have the whole weight of the war on your arms. God grant you your usual success. Sure I am, your usual zeal for the public good will not be wanting.

As to M. de Brioue, and M. de Saissan, I find nothing to object to either of them. It is unfortunate that the former trusted Chabanetti so much, since by his means Guiscard gained a good deal of light into those matters; and in his second letter to Monsieur de Torcy, which he missed of, he communicated those accounts to that minister.

I have looked over all the papers which your Grace sent me from Marsault, and the whole seems to me a fiction. The Queen makes the same judgment of them.

Before I conclude, your Grace will give me leave to say a word to you in behalf of

* Envoy of the Duke of Savoy, and his negociation was to obtain a corps of Imperialists for the war in Italy.

Sutton*, who will deliver this letter. He was last year extremely ill; but hopes that he is now able to make the campaign. He desires me to answer for him as one full of duty and respect to your Grace, and I can very safely do it. Was he not so, I am sure I would not recommend him to your Grace's protection and favour, with that earnestness which I beg your leave to do.

Mr. Watkins has behaved himself with that true gratitude to your Grace, that I own it adds extremely to the just value which a great many other good qualities had made me conceive for him. I am very much pleased to find your Grace approves of my thought with regard to him.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

S I R,

April 6th, 1711.

I WAS perfectly stupid with a severe head-ach, when the last post went away,

* Brigadier-general Richard Sutton. Such was the effect of party in those times, that Sutton was not promoted in his turn to the rank of major-general, and did not get it till 1729, when his Majesty ordered him rank as if he had been promoted in his proper turn by King George I.

and

and I am now very much afflicted with the gravel. However, there is no room for excuse, if I neglect any longer to answer your several obliging letters.

The first article in time, and the first in importance, is the conversation which you had with the Pensionary Buys. I have talked fully on this subject with the President, the Chamberlain, and our friend Mr. Harley, from whom you know the true measure of our Court is at present to be taken. Their opinion is, that you should let Monsieur Buys know that you have wrote to those to whom it was proper in Britain, as he desired you to do; and that the answer given to your enquiry is, That the ministers of the Queen are desirous in making peace, as in making war, to have a perfect good understanding with the States. That the method proposed for carrying on a treaty, in case we are obliged to sink below the terms formerly insisted upon, may be very agreeable, provided the Queen be, from the first, let into the whole secret.

That we are freed by the addresses of this parliament from the restraints laid by the votes of a former parliament.

This

This is a full, and I hope will be a satisfactory answer to Pensionary Buys, or to whoever may be in the same secret.

You judge undoubtedly right when you take it for granted, that there must have been on one side or other more steps taken towards peace, than the general overture made through the Duke of Lorrain, or else that there was little occasion for the Pensionary's curiosity.

I must once more repeat my apprehensions, that we cannot treat advantageously, perhaps not safely with France, until Britain and Holland know the minds of each other more exactly than it can be yet pretended that they do.

Inclosed I return you the original letter which I received from you, and am not in the least surpris'd at the contents of it. What I did in the case of that gentleman last winter I did for my own sake, and his shame will be the greater. But, Sir, his master is not a little more sincere; and the very day on which he made his parting protestations of reconciliation, and inviolable friendship, you may depend on his having sworn to his resolution of revenge. These things you will

keep in your own breast. They shall make no alteration in our conduct. We will secure ourselves against the malice, and despise the menace*.

We are very sensible of the pressures of the Dutch; and I am glad to find that they are so of the Queen's disinterested zeal in the support of the war. You will allow me to make, however, one observation to you; and that is, as unable as the States pretend to be to furnish the ships, which in justice they ought to do, yet they are ready to lend money on the King of Spain's demesnes, the post-revenue of the Ten Provinces†, to have that mortgaged to them for thirty which is so already for twenty years.

The letter directed to M. de la Tour, at Paris, you might have let pass, the person who wrote it being a very honest man; and if any other should come to your hands with the same superscription, you will oblige me in forwarding them.

* This relates to Cadogan and Marlborough; the former had been offended when Lord Orrery superseded him in the Netherlands; and the latter, by whose influence he had received the appointment, began now to side against the Queen and her ministers.

† The Spanish Netherlands.

My sentiment is, that you should not have, at least at present, any public character ; for whether you come hither on a secret commission, or whether the Queen uses you in Holland, you will be better able to serve her as you are, than if declared to be immediately in her service. With respect to advantage, the case will be the same ; and I am sure her Majesty will make your appointments begin from the beginning of the year, if not backwarder.

Mr. Gordon came to London last night, he was here this morning, but I had not time to talk with him.

I am, ever, &c.

To Lord Raby.

MY LORD,

April 6th, 1711.

THE treaties at present on foot with the Elector of Bavaria, and the overture made towards a general one through the Duke of Lorrain, being matters which have not yet been laid before the cabinet, I write to your Excellency of them in my private letter. As to the former, it is a very odd negotiation.

gociation. We are to trust a good deal to the Elector's faith, notwithstanding his agreement to put his troops into our service; and at the same time, to keep this faith with us, he is to betray the French. We will, however, reason no farther on this matter at present. When the Duke of Marlborough and your Excellency have met Monsieur de Welderen*, and heard the proposals which the Elector's agent brings at his return, we shall hear from you upon this subject more fully; and then the Queen's orders will be given for your conduct in this affair.

As to the overture of peace, we are likewise able to say little, till we hear from your side what new message the answer given to the Baron de Beque † produces. Certain it is, that we missed the true opportunity of making peace; and that we have stayed till we are not able to carry on the war. However, the best countenance is to be put on, and peace ought not to be meanly courted any more than it ought to be industriously avoided.

* Deputy for the province of Guelderland to the States-General.

† Minister of the Duke of Lorrain.

I have endeavoured already to serve Mr. Scott, whom I was formerly acquainted with, and whom I know to be master of several valuable qualities. Your Excellency will please to assure the Electorefs*, that I will redouble my efforts to serve him; and to show how just a reverence I pay to her commands.

As to Mr. Watkins, I must once more take the liberty to assure your Excellency, that the Queen has no one man, without any exception, to employ, who is half so well qualified to fill the post of her Secretary at the Hague. You may depend entirely on his integrity, which is equal to his capacity; and his experience, which is equal to both; for he has been in the whole secret of foreign business, ever since the Queen's accession to the throne.

Mr. Lewis† could not be spared without maiming Lord Dartmouth's office. Take my opinion, my Lord, in this affair, and judge of me as I judge of this.

* Of Saxony.

† Erasmus Lewis, Under-secretary to Lord Dartmouth, and formerly to Mr. Harley, to whom he was soon after the date of this letter, private Secretary.

The young man * whom I propose to send over to your Excellency, has a good deal of wit and learning. He has, in Latin and English, a very fine pen, and French enough to be useful. I shall, however, stay till I hear again from your Excellency before I order him away.

I hope your Excellency forgives me, if I have, both in this and former letters entered too far into what relates immediately to yourself. I have no view but your service, nor no motive but my just esteem for your person.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

April the 10th, 1711.

I HAVE before me to acknowledge your's of the 14th, N.S. for which, and for the advice contained in it, I return you many thanks.

Our friend at Amsterdam being of the character which you represent, it is not

* Mr. Harrison.

strange that he should have those for his enemies who are so to peace, and to all the good consequences of that valuable blessing. I should, however, be extremely sorry if any misunderstanding was created between the Pensionary and him. The conferences mentioned in your's were, I dare say, held for no good purpose ; but surely Monsieur Heinsius will never be so weak as to lean on a faction, who could not support itself, with all those advantages which the late ministry had ; and this too at the price of disobliging the Queen, and the best part of the nation.

I fear that your politicians in Holland are apt to reason upon our affairs from the impressions given in the time of King Charles II, and ever since kept up very artfully by the Whigs. Whereas you, who know from history and conversation, the state of that Court ; and from your own observation, the present temper and disposition of people in this island, cannot but be apprized of the mighty difference between the politics before and since the revolution ; and how often he must be in the wrong who takes his measures of Whig and Tory now, from

what

what was the constitution of them at that time.

Our letters which arrived to-day, by the way of Ostend, give an account of the Dauphin's death*. Will this event make any alterations in the measures and councils of France?

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

April the 10th.

ON the subject which I writ to your Grace upon, by M. de Seiffan, I have little more to say. We are in mortal fears that my Lord Peterborough is gone about concerting operations for the Duke of Savoy, before enough has been done to make that Prince resolve to act. Orders are therefore sent by this post to Mr. Palmes † according to what I writ to your Grace yesterday; and my Lord Dartmouth writes to

* Louis, only remaining issue of Louis XIV, and Maria Teresa of Austria, at the age of fortynine years.

† Lieutenant-general Francis Palmes. Envoy-extraordinary of Great Britain and the States General, to the Court of Vienna.

my Lord Peterborough in much the same style.

Maffei * was with me this morning. He seemed under a good deal of concern, and owned to me, when I pressed him on the subject, that the Queen had done so much for his master, that she deserved to have some sacrifice made to her, and especially when his master might have the strongest assurance, that we would not only support, but mend his bargain, whenever we got out of the present difficulties. He said he had writ in this sense; and that he believed if my Lord Peterborough had carried with him an assurance, under the Emperor's hand, as to the points remaining in dispute, his master might be prevailed upon to take the field.

I am very glad your Grace approves of what I said to Mr. Craggs. I spoke to him with great sincerity my opinion; and I dare say your Grace will find it to be well grounded.

This letter will find your Grace, I suppose, drawing near to your army, where I wish you all imaginable success, and am, &c.

* Count Maffei, Envoy of Savoy to our court.

To Lord Raby.

MY LORD,

April 17th, 1711.

I AM to return my humble thanks to your Excellency for the favours of your private letters of the 17th, 21st, and 24th instant, N.S.

I shall avoid saying any thing of business in this, not having had time to advise with my Lord President, my Lord Chamberlain, and Mr. Harley, who only are in the secret of the overture made by the Duke of Lorraine; and of the treaty on foot with the Elector of Bavaria.

As to d'Ayrolle*, the Queen does not think fit to send him to Geneva, I own I see no use he is of to her at the Hague. I have yet had no opportunity of speaking to her Majesty on his subject. When I have, your Excellency shall be acquainted with the result. If your Excellency has any inclination to afford him your protection, that will engage me to serve him; otherwise I should not be very active for him, since I

* James d'Ayrolle had been some years Secretary of Great Britain in Holland; and had been appointed for Geneva or Genoa, in 1710.

know very certainly that he has been very impertinent about British affairs.

As I desire your Excellency's friendship, so I must endeavour to have your good opinion, without which the other is neither to be deserved nor obtained. You will therefore give me leave to assure you, that if I was too hasty in naming Mr. Watkins, or Mr. Harrison, it was purely the effect of zeal, perhaps an intemperate and unadvised one, for your service. I did in my conscience believe Watkins the fittest man in Britain, who could be spared for that employment, and I thought the other, instructed as I intend to send him over, would make a better secretary than the generality of those employed. But to impose any person you might not trust, or would not like, is the last thing I should think of attempting. Since your Excellency bids me do so, I will send Mr. Harrison immediately to you. But I beg, and must make it a condition that you will not keep him on my account an hour. I shall find other ways of providing for him, if he is not useful and agreeable to your Excellency.

I am, &c.

To

To Lord Raby.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 19th, 1711.

I HAVE just time to add two words about the Barrier-treaty. Your Excellency must be of opinion, as we are all here, that this was the measure of a faction, who made their court to Holland, at the expence of Britain. I will undertake to show, in almost every article of it, something more or less scandalous.

Your Excellency will therefore please, with that address which you are master of, to incline the Dutch to a composition upon it. The Queen is engaged by her ratification; and therefore cannot directly refuse to make it good; but there are others who are under no tie of submitting to it*. The instances of these you will support, and persuade the States, for their own sakes, to some reasonable composition.

It may not improperly be let fall, that we have great grounds to complain of the conduct of the subjects of Holland, both

* Probably the Parliament of Great Britain and the Commercial Interest.

on the coast of Africa, and in the East-Indies; and that there is no small difficulty in keeping our merchants from making very loud remonstrances upon these heads; but if the Barrier-Treaty comes to be publicly known and considered in parliament, it will be absolutely impossible to keep the ferment down. All ranks, all parties of men, will unite in their protestations against it.

Mr. Harrison goes away by the first packet, by him your Excellency will have without reserve my thoughts concerning Lord Marlborough, and other affairs; and I beg of you to do me one piece of justice, till you find reason to do otherwise, which is, to believe, that after putting myself on the foot which I have done with your Excellency, I am not capable of keeping any reserve towards you, much less of affecting one part, and really acting another.

I am ever, my Lord, &c.

To Lord Raby.

MY LORD,

April 20, 1711.

THIS letter will be delivered to you by a little relation of mine, who wants neither learning

learning nor good understanding, and who will, I hope, be an useful servant to you. Whenever your Excellency has any other person in your eye, who may be more agreeable to you, I desire that you would without the least ceremony let me know it; and I will throw the young fellow into some other business. I never was more truly concerned at any fault I have been guilty of, than at my indiscretion in making so many steps in the affair of Mr. Watkins. I take my own load of blame; but really my Lord, I must set his character in a fair light before you, for he has as much merit as a man can have; and in all the turns which have lately happened, the station he was in, which might have betrayed a man into some mistake very easily, has only served to make his honour and his prudence the more conspicuous. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, as well as your humble servant, can witness this truth.

My Lord Marlborough is now gone to the army, well pleased, I make no doubt, with the answer received from France, through the channel of the Duke of Lorrain; for though peace be a necessary good to Britain,

I do

I do not imagine that he looks upon it as such to him.

I am not in the least surpris'd that my Lord Townshend's papers were sent away, and that his Grace's time was too much taken up to be able to communicate those lights to your Excellency, which might be necessary for her Majesty's service. It is natural for some people to affect spoiling any game that they cease to have the sole direction of. But, my Lord, you will soon stand on ground of your own making; and I am sanguine enough to affirm, that the Dutch will be better governed by that conduct, which I dare say you will keep, than ever they were by that of your predecessors.

Is it wonderful, that the union and good understanding between the two nations (upon which they value themselves) have been preserved, whilst they have acted like deputies of the States, and Britain has submitted like a province? The Dutch must have been hard indeed to please, if, upon those terms, they had not continued in good humour.

The last and great sale of the British interest was made in the Barrier Treaty; under pretence of rendering Holland safe, we
have

have done our parts to render it formidable. This is certain, we have given to the Dutch, by that infamous compact, extent of country, the only thing they wanted to enable them to be superior to us in trade.

This, my Lord, has been the price at which the good harmony has been created and maintained. I believe, and I have reason for this belief, that they begin to think in Holland we shall no longer prove so blind as to suffer the national interest to be bartered by a faction ; and your Excellency will see, that when we act like good allies, without descending below the character, the Dutch will esteem us more, and love us just as well.

Upon the head of peace I shall write more fully to your Excellency, after I have spoke with my Lord President, my Lord Chamberlain, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In general, I can tell you now that we must endeavour to have it, without appearing too fond of it.

As to your Excellency's money affairs, I will lay that matter so fully before the Lords of the Treasury, that you shall be sure of being answered to your satisfaction ; and the
Chancellor

Chancellor of the Exchequer, who is just come abroad, will, I know, be particularly proud of doing any thing agreeable to your Excellency.

I shall write this evening again to you, so that, in conscience, I cannot trouble your Excellency any longer by this letter, than to assure you that I am, and ever will be, my Lord, &c.

To Lord Raby.

MY LORD,

April 20th, 1711.

I INCLOSE this to let your Excellency know, that the Queen thinks no answer from her necessary on the Duke of Lorraine's letter, more than that she approves of your conduct in that matter.

As to the project with the Elector of Bavaria, it is hard to form a judgment: we take it for granted that he has grown either more in earnest to be reconciled with the allies, or more averse to it, since the Emperor's death; and either of these cases will soon be discerned. We think that in order to determine whether this Elector's proposition

tion be fit to be accepted, it is necessary to know how far the military operations may be affected by the neutrality of Nieuport, Namur, Charleroy, and Luxemburg.

Peace seems at present to be so far off, and so many events may happen, one way or other, to incline her Majesty to one scheme or another, that I cannot pretend to tell your Excellency what the Queen's present thoughts are upon that head. In general, we want a peace, and we wish it: and I think the right rule to act and speak by is, to give our enemies an opinion that the first proposition is not true, but that the last is so.

I shall add nothing more, but my sincere assurances of being, with the utmost truth, my Lord, your Excellency's, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

S I R,

April 20, 1711.

I HAVE the letters of the 21st, 24th, and 26th, N.S. to acknowledge, but I have been all this day so much engaged in business, that

that I shall not be able to write to you, or any other of my correspondents, so fully by this post as I intended; but by that of Tuesday, I hope to answer particularly the several articles of your letters, which I have read to the Queen, and communicated to such of her ministers as I usually do. I cannot, in the mean time, omit saying, that the present disposition of the Pensionary Heinsius, is very agreeable to every body here; and we wish, as heartily as he can do, that the Dutch had always judged as well of British affairs as they seem to do now.

I inclose to you a copy of the Queen's message to both Houses of Parliament, and their address upon it, which was presented this night.

This step, not common in our proceedings, shows with what zeal and warmth the Parliament concurs in those measures which the Queen and States thought proper to take upon the *contretems* of the Emperor's death*.

We

* On the 17th, at night, the express arrived with an account of the Emperor Joseph's death. On the 20th a message was sent from the Queen to both Houses, That she had resolved to support the interest of the house of Austria, and to endeavour to get the King of Spain to be elected Emperor; that

We persuade ourselves here, that there is no doubt to be made of King Charles's being elected Emperor; but the satisfying the Duke of Savoy on his pretensions to Spain, seems to be the knot of the whole affair.

I cannot forbear adding, that Mr. Buys was too critical in his remark about *may* and *will* in the answer which I sent you to his enquiries*. The terms I used were surely as strong as it became us to write, or him to expect.

Depend yourself, and continue to make others do the same, on every reasonable measure from this side.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Whitworth.

S I R,

April 24, 1711.

I RECEIVED with great pleasure your letter of the 28th of this month, N.S. and you will, before this can come to your

that the States-General concurred with her; and, with the assistance of Parliament, she should be enabled to make a happy conclusion of this war in a safe and honourable peace. An address was voted and presented the same day.

* Vide Letter to Mr. Drummond, 6th April, 1711.

VOL. I.

M

hands,

hands, have found that her Majesty has thought fit, in this extraordinary conjuncture of affairs, to make use of you in Germany, in your way to the Czar's court. You see, Sir, how much trouble a man draws upon himself who has your talents, and who has had the opportunities of exerting and showing them; but, on the other hand, this trouble becomes a pleasure to those who, to your capacity, join your generosity and love of your country.

It is very likely that you may soon hear of some new employment being assigned to you, besides what you are to do at the Court of Berlin. Now I have got you into my province, I will keep you in it as long as I can; and I hope you will forgive me if I deprive you for some time of his Grace of Queensberry's correspondence*.

That I may not alarm you with long letters at first, I will take the liberty to refer you to what I write to his Excellency my Lord Ambassador Raby, on the general state of affairs, and will conclude this by the

* The office of a third Secretary of State was a new appointment of her Majesty in the February preceding, and was given to the Duke of Queensberry and Dover.

most sincere assurances of my being, Sir,
your Excellency's, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

April 24, 1711.

I HAD begun to write to you, upon the contents of your three letters of the 21st, 24th, and 26th, N.S. two days ago, in hopes of having time to speak more fully to you on several points which relate to the common interest of Britain and Holland; but I have been interrupted by business of one kind or other, which is still springing up, and which your countryman, Queenberry, eases me of no part of.

I find a great uneasiness in my Lord Raby about Harry Watkins being named Secretary to the Embassy; and I have been told that when my name-sake went to wait upon the Ambassador, he had not so good a reception as he might have expected, and as the other ought to have given him. Pray write your own thoughts, as well as the judge's, very freely to me upon this subject, because I did not intend to place Mr. Wat-

kins in an uneasy station, and because if he cannot be agreeable at the Hague, I make no doubt but the Queen will some other way do better for him.

Your Pensionary must, I dare say, upon recollection, whatever his first thoughts might be, have been very well satisfied with the answer which I sent to his enquiries. We could not say more, unless we had resigned ourselves absolutely and implicitly to their guidance, and that is not to be expected, at least till we know more of one another's minds, with relation to our several interests in a peace. I have given you this hint before, and on this side of the water we should be very plain in opening ourselves on that subject.

I hope the Grand Pensionary, upon the account which he gave you of the effect which the reports spread concerning the ill state of our domestic affairs have had in France, did not fail to make this plain remark, that those persons who had so much credit very lately in Holland, by their industriously propagating false representations of our condition, did a double mischief, as
they

they disheartened our friends, and as they encouraged our enemies.

Whenever we come in earnest to treat of peace, ways will be easily found of opening the matter to my Lord Raby, that he shall have no umbrage of your having been in the secret previously to him.

I wish the Pensionary's correspondent may judge right, who thinks that another minister, now the Dauphin is dead, will be sent into Holland by the French: for my part, I much doubt it. Mr. Harley will to-morrow, for the first time, appear in the House of Commons, since his misfortune: the Pensionary's compliments will, I am sure, be very agreeable to him, and I shall not fail to make them. The notice he takes of me I am very thankful to him for, and shall strive to deserve his good opinion, by contributing all I can to the continuance of the good correspondence between our two countries, upon which our common happiness undoubtedly depends.

My Lord Raby's complaint about money will be over this week, since half of what is due to him will be ordered.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

April 27, 1711.

IN my letters to your Grace, and in the copies of those which I have writ to my Lord Raby, are her Majesty's sentiments upon the present posture of affairs, as fully communicated as I am able to explain them.

As our councils here proceed, and new resolutions are taken, I will not fail to give your Grace a faithful account of them.

The circumstances of our affairs are surely very critical, and all those clouds which have been gathering for some time seem ready to break, and to shed their evil influence at once upon us, besides the unfortunate incident of the Emperor's death, which could not be foreseen.

My care can be of no great service to your Grace, though you are pleased to ask it; but the best offices in my power you shall at all times be sure of.

With respect to the common cause, you have, my Lord, a hard game to play; but with respect to yourself, and your own reputation,

putation, I think you have not. Every man is so apprized that the whole strength of France is now opposed to you, that if you should be able to do any thing, you would out-go almost our hopes ; and if you are able to do nothing (which God forbid) I dare say no blame will be ascribed to you.

I have not been, to own the truth to your Grace, this month at the Committee of Lords, which sits at the War-office ; you will easily guess my reason. But I will move the Queen in the affair of the Brigadiers, the state of which, I am sensible, is as your Grace represents it.

As to the subject which Mr. Craggs and I have often talked together upon, there can be no difficulty in it which yourself may not remove, and wherein I shall not endeavour to be instrumental. I must, however, deal freely with your Grace, and let you know, that some things which did pass between Mr. Craggs and me, and some which did not, having been talked of again, makes me a little cautious how I talk privately upon a subject which might even be publickly owned.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

April 27, 1711.

YOUR letters of the 1st of May, N.S. together with the inclosed, I received with the satisfaction which I read every thing that comes from you. I cannot agree that Lord Orrery is so much in the wrong, or that there is so much danger of losing the subsistence of the Imperial and Palatine troops as Mr. Watkins seems to believe. My Lord has the Queen's positive and repeated orders to insist, in the first place, that the Spanish Provinces should furnish all the expences charged upon them for the service of the war; but he is directed, at the the same time, to act the part of an advocate and a protector, when any unreasonable proposition is by other people pressed upon them. Nay, in such cases, the common necessity will oblige him to yield, and where he knows beforehand that he is to do so; the Queen will, however, approve his conduct, if he shows a reluctance to enter into oppressive measures, and if, at the time he consents to load them on one account, he endeavours to ease them in some other respect,

spect. These unhappy countries have found the government of those who pretend to be the assertors of public liberty so tyrannical and barbarous, that you know better than I how near they are driven to despair. The Queen's servants have, to the reproach of our government and nation, been, in great measure, the instruments of all these vile proceedings. Something, therefore, must be done to relieve the miserable people, and something to redeem the honour of the British name.

We have, in answer to a resolution of the States, and to a memorial of Monsieur Vryberge's, grounded thereon, spoke very frankly to this effect; but to you I will add this farther, that it is by no means our interest that Holland should compass all they aim at with respect to these Provinces.

I shall be sorry, if my Lord Orrery does not live in a good correspondence (since it is absolutely necessary for the public service) with the Duke of Marlborough, who did really make great advances, and such as could not, with any grace, be declined, before they left this kingdom.

I hardly believe that the French are
shipping

shipping any forces at Brest ; but if they should, in the opinion and with the design you mention, I wish them heartily a good voyage.

Your conversation with the Pensionary, I hope, by the first letters, to have an account of. In the mean time you may assure him, that my Lord Peterborough has had no orders to offer the Spanish Monarchy to the Duke of Savoy ; nay, his journey to Turin is undertaken against the Queen's intentions, and even his instructions ; since the latter oblige him to continue at Vienna, till all the points in dispute are settled to the satisfaction of M. de Mellaredede ; and you know that he took the resolution of going to the Duke of Savoy, as soon as that was adjusted which relates to the Fiefs of the Montferrat, and which is but half of one article out of four.

Declaring for the Duke of Savoy's immediate succession to Spain, can have but one effect, which is to hasten the Austrian ministers to some composition with France. If King Charles is once secure of the empire, he will think it much more his interest to unite the Italian territories to it, and to enjoy

joy the whole with peace, than to continue a war for aggrandizing the House of Savoy at the expence of having less himself. We are as cautious upon this subject, and we think it as nice and dangerous a matter to handle, as the Pensionary can do: but give me leave to tell you, that our friends in Holland must not leave this affair to take care of itself, as they have done that of the North. The Queen has hitherto not at all interposed, but left the whole management of this last to the States; and what a dilemma are we now reduced to! The king of Sweden has been made neither unwilling nor unable to hurt us. He has had, in a great measure, the advantage of the act of neutrality, and yet is under no obligation to abide by it; and now that he has gained time enough, he bids you, in plain terms, declare whether you will make good the guaranty of the treaty of Travendhal* or not, that he may

* Between the kings of Denmark and Sweden, then Duke of Sleswick-Holsten-Gottorp, 1700,—by which all former treaties were renewed and confirmed; no fortifications to be within a league of their respective territories—neither power to have more than 6000 men in the duchies of Holstein. Denmark not to attempt any thing against Sweden, &c. Great Britain and the States-General guarantees. The king of Denmark took advantage of king Charles's defeat at Pultowa, and invading the Swedish territories, broke the treaty of Travendhal.

take his measures accordingly. The situation of these Northern affairs gives the Queen no small share of uneasiness.

Mr. Harley was yesterday at the House of Commons for the first time; the compliment which the Speaker made him in the name of the House, and his reply to it, were extremely fine. We say at Court, that he will be called by another appellation in a few days.

I am, &c.

*To Lord Raby *.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, April 27, 1711.

I SEND your Excellency inclosed, by her Majesty's order, the copy of an overture from France, which came a few days since to our hands †.

The

* Public Letter.

† "Comme on ne peut douter que le Roi ne soit en état de soutenir glorieusement la guerre, on ne peut regarder aussi, comme une marque de foiblesse, que sa Majesté rompe le silence qu'elle a gardé depuis la séparation des conférences de Gertruydenberg, & qu'avant l'ouverture de la campagne, elle donne encore de nouvelles preuves du desir qu'elle a toujours conservé de procurer le rétablissement du repos de l'Europe. Mais après l'expérience qu'elle a faite des sentimens de ceux qui gouvernent présentement la République d'Hollande,

The Queen's pleasure is that your Excellency do take the first opportunity of communicating it to the Pensionary, and of letting that minister know, that her Ma-

d'Hollande, & de leur industrie à rendre les négociations infructueuses, elle veut, pour le bien public, adresser à la nation Angloise les propositions qu'elle juge à propos de faire pour terminer la guerre, & pour assurer solidement la tranquillité générale de la Chrétienté. C'est dans cette vue que le Roi offre de traiter la paix, sur le fondement des conditions suivantes :

“Premièrement, Que les Anglois auront des suretés réelles pour exercer désormais leur commerce en Espagne, aux Indes, & dans les ports de la Méditerranée.

“Secondement, Le Roi conviendra de former dans les Pays Bas une barrière suffisante pour la sureté de la république d'Hollande ; & cette barrière sera convenable à l'Angleterre, & au gré de la nation Angloise ; sa Majesté promettant, en même-tems, une entière liberté & assurance pour le commerce des Hollandois.

“Troisièmement, On cherchera sincèrement & de bonne-foi les moyens raisonnables de satisfaire les alliés de l'Angleterre & de la Hollande.

“Quatrièmement, Comme le bon état des affaires du Roi d'Espagne fournit de nouveaux expédiens pour terminer le différend sur cette monarchie, & pour le régler au contentement des parties intéressées, on travaillera sincèrement à surmonter les difficultés nées à cette occasion, & l'on assurera l'état, le commerce, & généralement les intérêts de toutes les parties engagées dans la présente guerre.

“Cinquièmement, Les conférences pour traiter la paix sur le fondement de ces conditions seront incessamment ouvertes ; & les plénipotentiaires que le Roi nommera pour y assister traiteront avec ceux de l'Angleterre & de la Hollande, seuls, ou conjointement avec ceux de leurs alliés, au choix de l'Angleterre.

“Sixièmement, Sa Majesté propose les villes d'Aix-la-Chapelle & de Liege pour le lieu où les plénipotentiaires seront assemblés ; remettant aussi à l'Angleterre de choisir l'une de ces deux villes pour y traiter la paix générale. Fait à Marly, le 24me Avril, 1711.

“DE TORCY.”

jeſty,

jeſty, who is reſolved in making peace as in making war, to act in perfect concert with the States, would not loſe a moment in transmitting to him a paper of this importance.

Your Excellency will pleaſe to add, that the Queen earneſtly deſires this ſecret may be kept among as few as poſſible, and that ſhe hopes the Penſionary will adviſe upon this occaſion with no perſon whatever, except ſuch as are, by the conſtitution of that government, unavoidably neceſſary.

As ſoon as the matter has been conſidered in Holland, your Excellency will pleaſe to diſpatch Barlow, who brings you this packet, back, with the opinion of the Dutch miniſters.

The terms of the ſeveral propoſitions are, as your Excellency will obſerve, very general ; but, however, they contain an offer to treat ; and though there is an air of complaiſance through the whole paper ſhown to us, and the contrary to thoſe among whom you reſide, yet this can have no ill conſequence, as long as the Queen and the States take care to underſtand each other, and to act with as little reſerve as becomes two powers ſo nearly allied in intereſt. Your

Excellency

Excellency may assure the Pensionary, that this rule shall on our parts be inviolably observed.

The Duke of Marlborough has no communication from hence of this affair, I suppose he will have none from the Hague.

Your Excellency will please to accept of the most sincere assurances, that I am, with great respect,

My Lord, your Excellency's

Most obedient, and most

Humble Servant,

H. St. JOHN.

Not knowing but your Excellency might, on some occasion or other, have a mind to show my letter to the ministers in Holland, I chose to throw into another paper what is not proper for them to see.

Ever since the conferences broke off at Gertruydenberg, the French have affected to distrust the inclination of the Dutch to peace, and to take every occasion of showing a resentment of the ill-treatment which they pretend at that time to have received.

Your Excellency, I believe, will think that as soon as the Pensionary reads the Paper
sent

sent by Monsieur de Torcy he will be alarmed at the whole frame of it, and particularly at those expressions: "*Que les Anglois auront des suretés réelles, & une barrière suffisante pour la sureté de la république d'Hollande; & cette barrière sera convenable à l'Angleterre, & au gré de la nation Angloise.*"

The fear the Dutch will conceive of our obtaining advantageous terms for Britain, will naturally put them on trying underhand for themselves, and endeavouring to make us the dupes of the peace, as we have been of the war. Your Excellency will therefore please to be watchful to discover any workings of this kind.

The French name Aix and Liege for treating the peace, but I may tell your Excellency that they do it for no other reason but because they will not name any town which belongs to the States. This, however, will break no measures; and if we stuck at nothing but the place, that difficulty would be made easy by the French.

The manner of treating, whether with all the allies, or only the maritime powers first, is a point of much consideration.

I believe

I believe your Excellency will desire to have in writing the sentiments of the ministers of Holland, to prevent real mistakes, or pretended ones, in an affair of this moment.

I am neither surprized at your Excellency's wading through the difficulties which you met with, on your first entrance upon business at the Hague, nor at the endeavours of the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Townshend to expose you to as many as they could. You have in this, my Lord, met with no other fate than the Queen, our mistress, has; and her administration would never have supported itself against all the industry and all the malice which has been put in practice, without that resolution and firmness of mind which she has shown, and her servants too by her example.

The influence of these factious efforts is, I hope, over; we gain strength every day; and I hope to see the Queen's government settled on that broad and generous principle which only can and only ought to last.

I am ever your Excellency's

Most faithful servant,

H. St. J.

The inclosed, for Monsieur de la Garde*, the Queen would have your Excellency take care

* L'Abbé Gaultier à Monsieur le Marquis de Torcy :

" Monsieur,

" J'ai eu l'honneur de vous mander, Mardi dernier, que j'avois rendu le mémoire dont vous m'aviez chargé, le 23^{me} du mois passé; on l'a lu, examiné, & on vient de l'envoyer aux Etats-Généraux; après avoir fait ce pas. on croit qu'il est raisonnable, que vous vous expliquiez particulièrement sur le contenu du premier article, & que vous fassiez connoître ce que vous entendez par ces paroles, *que les Anglois auront des sûretés réelles pour exercer désormais leur commerce en Espagne, aux Indes, & dans les ports de la Mer Méditerranée.*

" On m'ordonne de vous écrire celle-ci aujourd'hui, & je vous supplie d'avoir la bonté de m'en envoyer au plutôt la réponse.

" Je suis, &c.

" A Londres, 8^{me} Mai, 1711, N.S.

" F. GAULTIER."

Mem. This was sealed and inclosed in the following.

" A Londres, 8^{me} Mai, 1711, N.S.

" Je vous prie, Monsieur, de rendre l'encluse à son adresse aussitôt que vous l'aurez reçue, & vous m'en enverrez la réponse le plutôt qu'il vous sera possible, &c.

" F. G."

Directed " A Monsieur de la Garde, dans la rue Fougère, proche la place Maubert, à Paris."

To this the following was received in answer:

" A Marli, le 31 Mai, 1711.

" JE vous mandai, Monsieur, l'ordinaire dernier, que j'avois reçu votre lettre du 8^{me} de ce mois, & que je répondrois incessamment à ce qu'elle contenoit de plus particulier. Je m'en acquitte aujourd'hui, en vous donnant l'explication que vous demandez sur le premier article du projet que je vous ai remis. A la vérité ce seroit matière à différer jusques aux conférences, & vous ne pouvez guères demander les explications quand il n'y a rien d'assuré de votre part; mais on veut bien passer sur cette difficulté, pour vous faire voir non-seulement la bonne-foi que vous desirez, mais encore la confiance que l'on prend en vous. Vous pouvez donc assurer ceux qui vous emploient, que l'on a parole du Roi d'Espagne de laisser aux Anglois Gibraltar, pour la sûreté

care to have forwarded by the post to France ; but it must be so delivered that there may be no suspicion of its being so by your order.

sûreté réelle de leur commerce en Espagne, & dans la Méditerranée. Vous ajouterez qu'il n'a encore été fait aucune proposition à S. M. Cath. pour la sûreté du commerce des Indes, parce qu'il faut savoir auparavant ce qui peut convenir sur ce sujet à l'Angleterre. Demandez-le donc, & aussitôt que vous m'en aurez instruit, on agira fortement auprès du Roi Cath. afin d'obtenir de lui que ses ministres, aux conférences de la paix, aient des ordres sur un article aussi important, & qui ne sauroit être traité comme préliminaire. On fait en général qu'il sera disposé à favoriser la nation Angloise, si elle contribue au rétablissement de la tranquillité publique.

“ Je vous ai parlé de la prétendue négociation du Duc de Lorraine, & je vous ai dit que ce prince avoit offert ici ses offres, après en avoir fait parler à la Haye, de son pur mouvement, il ne s'est rien passé dans cette affaire depuis que le Roi a répondu de manière que cette négociation est tombée dès son commencement. Vous pouvez vous en tenir au préambule du mémoire que je vous ai donné, il ne tiendra qu'à l'Angleterre que S. M. ne s'adresse plus aux Hollandois pour traiter.

“ Il y a moins de fondement encore aux offres qu'on prétend que M. le Duc de Noailles a fait à l'Archduc, qu'à la négociation entamée par le Duc de Lorraine. Enfin la seule qui soit présentement ouverte pour la paix est avec vous. Mais profitez de la confiance qu'on prend en vous, car il ne seroit pas juste qu'elle fit perdre le tems & les dispositions favorables que l'on commence avoir d'un autre côté. Ne regardez pas comme menaces ce que j'écris, mais considérez qu'il y auroit de l'imprudence à négliger les moyens de faire la paix, lorsqu'on ne seroit pas assuré de ce que vous voudriez faire de votre part. Je suis, &c.

“ DE TORCY.”

Mem. This was directed “ A Monsieur d'Elorme.”

To the Earl of Orrery.

MY LORD,

May 1st, 1711.

I HAVE had the honour to lay your Lordship's letter of the 4th of May, N.S. before her Majesty, and am glad to let your Lordship know, that the Queen is extremely satisfied with the care which your Lordship takes, by all possible means, to gain intelligence of the enemy's designs.

The method of stopping the letters wrote to Lord Drummond *, cannot, to be sure, long be used, for the reason which you are pleased to mention: but her Majesty is very desirous that your Lordship should endeavour to find the channel through which this Jacobite Factor conveys his letters into France, and intercept one of them. If this could be done, we should know what to do with his Lordship; but at present I cannot find that my Lords of the Council are very clear in their opinions what to advise the Queen upon his account.

* In 1708, the French assisted the Pretender in the attempt upon Scotland; and the Lord Drummond favouring the scheme, was brought to London, and committed to the tower.

As to the real use which the French intend to put the Pretender to this summer, I have been always an unbeliever; however, I must confess, that they begin to shew some intention of consequence by sea; and we have several accounts, which agree pretty well, of a strong squadron almost ready for the sea in the Ports of West France. On the first certain account which your Lordship has of the Chevalier's removal from St. Germain's, you will please to dispatch an express to me, and order the person who comes to make the utmost diligence. I have one or two now in France upon this errand, and your Lordship will please to send others, for it is convenient to have as many spies, in a case of this moment, as possible, provided they know nothing of each other, and are not able, by consequence, to concert their accounts.

No body here makes any doubt of your Lordship's pursuing what is just, what is reasonable, what is for the advantage of Britain, and of the common cause. If the necessity of our affairs should press so hard, and if the bad influence of the late corrupt administration should be still so prevalent that

you must at last submit to the measures of the Dutch, even where you are convinced that they are in the wrong, yet the conduct which you have held must produce a good effect all manner of ways.

I enclose to your Lordship two letters, which I have wrote to the Counts d'Ursel and Milan: you know upon what occasion my correspondence with those gentlemen began, and you will please to judge how far they can be of use to the Queen's affairs, and what encouragement they deserve.

I enclose copies of those letters, in answer to which mine to them are writ, that your Lordship may see what they complain of, in relation to themselves and to their country. There is in the Count de Milan's letter one very remarkable fact. Adieu, my Lord.

I am, &c.

To save the trouble of so much copying, I send my letters open. You will please to seal them before they are delivered.

To Mr. Cadogan.

SIR,

May 1st, 1711.

I RETURN you many thanks for the favour of your's of the 21st of this month, N.S. which is come to my hands; but that which you mention to have writ in answer to mine of the 20th of March I never received.

The accounts which you send me are so ample and clear, that they cannot fail of giving very great satisfaction. The difficulties which my Lord Marlborough has this year to encounter are extremely great; in some measure from an unfortunate concurrence of fatal accidents, and in a greater proportion from the defects and bad conduct of several of the allies: Britain and Holland seem to make the war alone in Flanders, and Britain seems to make it alone every where else. This burden has been long increasing upon us, and is at length grown insupportable. I have all the expectation possible from the Duke of Marlborough's vigour and zeal, which have often raised the common cause from a drooping condition, and I hope will do so again.

The unhappy distinctions which you lament with so much reason, I shall be heartily glad to see entirely buried, as I wish they had never been fomented. Certain it is, that the discountenance which my Lord Marlborough shows to those that rail, and to those that whisper, will effectually cure the evil in the army; and I am confident the doing so there, will contribute to assist those who make it their endeavour to restore the same decency and good order at home.

I should say nothing of myself, if your letter did not give me occasion to mention thus much, that I have done my utmost to pursue the principle which you know I have always professed, and from which I have too much firmness upon any consideration to depart; at the same time, I hope, I have given some proofs that I am true to private friendship. That you may have all imaginable success, and add to the stock of reputation which you have so deservedly acquired, is the sincerest wish of, Sir,

Your's, &c.

To Lord Raby.

MY LORD,

May 6th, 1711.

THE business of the last post not allowing me to write a private letter to your Excellency, I have now several to answer; and I therefore begin thus early, that I may be able to speak as fully on the subjects contained in them as their importance deserves.

The fatigue, which your Excellency has been obliged to go through since your arrival at the Hague, has, indeed, been great; and, as the affairs of the western world are now constituted, the Queen's Ambassador in Holland is almost her universal minister. A Secretary to the embassy, who is acquainted with business, and has a genius to render his experience useful, will no doubt be very assistant to your Excellency: I shall not fail to observe what you desire of me upon this head. As for d'Ayrolle, he is an old woman, whose talents no time, no opportunities of improvement, can ever raise above the level of a valet-de-chambre, and yet he costs the Queen twelve hundred pounds a year.

The

The hard circumstances which her Majesty's ministers abroad are exposed to, no man is more sensible of than myself; and it is a great truth, that ever since the Queen's goodness placed me where I have the honour at present to serve, I have, in conversation and by letter, continually urged the redress of this crying grievance, as essential to the honour of the nation and the good of the service*.

Upon

* The Editor found the following paper relating to allowances for Foreign ministers :

" Ambassadors-ordinary in France, Spain, and the Emperour's Court, 100l. per week, and 1500l. equipage.

" In Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Vienna, Holland, &c. 10l. per diem, and 1000l. equipage.

" Ambassadors-extraordinary to have every where the same ordinary allowances the Ambassadors-ordinary have, and to differ only in the equipage money, which is to be determined by his Majesty himself according to the occasion.

" Envoys-extraordinary in France, Spain, and the Emperour's Court, 5l. per diem, and 500l. equipage. In all other Courts, 4l. per diem, and 300l. equipage.

" Residents in France, Spain, the Emperour's Court, 3l. per diem; in all the other Courts, 2l. 10s. per diem.

" A Secretary of the embassy, wherever it shall be found for the importance of the affair necessary, shall be allowed by his Majesty, and have 300l. or 400l. per ann.

" The advance upon the ordinary entertainment, to be only of the first three months, and the next three months, and so forward, the succeeding terms not to be made payable till the end of each three months.

" The ordinary entertainment to begin from the day of the minister's taking his leave of his Majesty, and to cease at his return into the King's presence. Extraordinarys upon bills, &c. such be allowed as formerly were used to be, to be given
in

Upon your Excellency's removal from Berlin to the Hague, I repeated my importunity to have your arrears paid; and they assure me at the Treasury, that half of what is due to you will be instantly ordered; so that there can be no danger of what you seem to apprehend, the protesting your bills. The Chancellor of the Exchequer appears so much convinced of the necessity of taking better care of those who serve abroad, that I verily believe we shall in a short time see this branch of the civil list established on a better regulation of payment.

in upon the oath of the minister, to be taken either before his going abroad, or with the particular bills after his return.

"No such bills of extraordinary to be allowed by the Secretaries of State, till the minister shall have first delivered in an exact narrative or relation of his negociation, of the present state of the Court wherein he was employed, the condition of the affairs, characters of the ministers and principal persons of note and interest in the Court; not to be passed by the Lord Treasurer or Commissioners of the Treasury for the time being, till a certificate be produced under the hand of one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, that such narrative hath been made and delivered in.—This scheme of allowances for Ambassadors, and Ministers of other characters, employed in his Majesty's service abroad, having been framed by the Lords of the Committee for foreign affairs, and by them offered to his Majesty—his Majesty was pleased this day to allow of it: commanding us, his principal Secretaries of State to declare his pleasure thereupon, and to transmit it to the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, to remain as a rule for the future of all allowances of this kind.—At the Court of Whitehall, the 4th day of April, 1669.

(Signed)

"ARLINGTON, and J. TREVOR."

Your Excellency is pleased to say, that you have taken your party already; and that you have therefore no concern on the supposition of the Duke of Marlborough's return to his former power. I assure you, my Lord, I can join with you in this declaration. I have brought myself to that indifferent temper of mind, which only can secure the tranquillity of any person who acts upon the public stage in this country of revolutions. But, my Lord, I deal openly with you upon all occasions; and will upon this say, that I see no prospect of the Queen's reverting to her former bondage. As to the friendship renewed between his Grace of Marlborough, and those who are now at court, your Excellency must, if you please, state the matter thus: It was thought necessary, for many reasons, too long to enumerate here, that he should command in Flanders this campaign; and after this point was settled, I am sure it became necessary that we should all live in such a degree of confidence with him, as might enable us to carry on the Queen's affairs together. He affects to be entirely resigned to her Majesty's pleasure, and perfectly satisfied with her present

sent measures. If he continues to act in conformity to those professions, length of time may, for ought I know, restore that credit and trust which he violated on many occasions towards many people. But should he think fit to play the old part over again, I can answer for one, that is, myself, that I will oppose him with as much vigour as ever I did either oppose or serve him, and I have done both to effect in my time.

The friendship which your Excellency promises me, I have all the just esteem and value for which it deserves. In every situation of life I will endeavour to make you think that you have not bestowed it ill, and I flatter myself that I shall succeed in this attempt.

The letters which you have intercepted, and the intelligence which you have received, do sufficiently show that a Jacobite correspondence is carried on, and the hopes of that party are not quite extinct. However, I must confess, I do not apprehend any immediate attempt of this kind; I rather incline to the opinion, mentioned in one of your Excellency's letters, that the enemy hope chiefly to amuse us by these expectations

pectations, and to check our preparations for foreign service.

In this view, they have not succeeded, since Mr. Hill is sailed with eight very good battalions, and a strong squadron of men of war, which will be the last detachment we shall make this campaign.

The information which your Excellency has had may be right, in every circumstance, concerning Buys and his scheme for bringing a treaty of peace on foot. What I know of it I will very naturally tell you. Mr. Drummond did, some time since, send me word, that the Pensionary of Amsterdam had ordered him to sound his friends in Britain, and to inform himself, whether we would be contented that the Dutch should begin a negociation on lower terms than those formerly insisted upon; offering, that we might disculpate ourselves by laying the blame on them. I acquainted the Queen with this overture; and having, by order, consulted my late Lord President*, the Lord Chamberlain, and Mr.

* Earl of Rochester died the 2d May, and was succeeded in his place of President of the Council by the Duke of Buckingham.

Harley;

Harley; I answered Mr. Drummond, that we might be satisfied with such a proceeding, provided the Queen was let into the whole secret from first to last. From that hour to this, I have thought no more of the matter, knowing Buys to be very light under a very solemn appearance; and besides, we wanted no help of theirs to begin this negociation, or to justify our conduct in it.

Your Excellency may assure the Pensionary Heinsius, or his friend who spoke on this subject to you, that those who are trusted with the secret of the Queen's business, desire nothing more than a good understanding with him, and with those whom he has a confidence in; and that we are heartily sorry that they ever suffered themselves to be imposed upon by false representations of men and of things, or that they were ever brought to mistake the sense and the interest of a faction, for the sense and interest of the nation.

I cannot let this opportunity slip, without informing your Excellency of the condition in which we apprehend ourselves to be, and of the necessity which we think there is of a peace. I may perhaps be tedious, but

I had

I had rather you should think me so, than have reason to think that I neglected to give you any information which may be of use, at a time when you are likely to have the fate of your country in your hand. We are now in the tenth campaign of a war, the great load of which has fallen on Britain, as the great advantage of it is proposed to redound to the House of Austria, and to the States-General. They are in interest more immediately, we more remotely concerned. However, what by our forwardness to engage in every article of expence, what by our private assurances, and what by our public parliamentary declarations, that no peace should be made without the entire restitution of the Spanish monarchy, we are become principals in the contest; the war is looked upon to be our war; and it is treated accordingly by the confederates, even by the Imperialists, and by the Dutch. I will not enter into the particulars which make out this proposition, your Excellency is enough apprized of them. I will only make one observation which I have seen verified in numberless instances, and which I never saw fail in any. If a method of carrying

rying on the war was offered never so prejudicial to the interests of Britain in its consequences, yet the general topic of necessity prevailed. On the other hand, our allies have always looked first at home, and the common cause has been served by the best of them in the second place. From hence it is that our commerce has been neglected, while the French have engrossed the South-Sea trade to themselves, and the Dutch encroach daily upon us, both in the East-Indies, and on the coast of Africa. From hence it is, that we have every year added to our burden, which was long ago greater than we could bear, whilst the Dutch have yearly lessened their proportions in every part of the war, even in that of Flanders, on the pretence of poverty. Whilst the Emperor has never employed twenty of his ninety thousand men against France, on account of the troubles of Hungary, which he would not accommodate, nor has suffered our vast expences in Italy to be effectual, on account of articles in which it did not suit with his conveniency to keep his word *, and whilst

* This relates to territories in the Milanese, ceded to Savoy by the Emperor; but the Emperor afterwards started some difficulties, and the Duke of Savoy refused to take the field.

each of the other confederates in his turn has, from some false pretence, or from some trifling consideration of private advantage, neglected to perform his part in the war, or given a reason to others for not performing theirs; from hence it is that our fleet is diminished and rotten, that our funds are mortgaged for thirty-two and ninety-nine years; that our specie is exhausted, and that we have nothing in possession, and hardly any thing in expectation, as a compensation to Britain for having borne the burden and heat of the day; whilst Holland has obtained a secure, and even formidable barrier; and, by my Lord Townshend's great generosity, has a claim against our gaining any privilege or benefit in point of commerce, wherein they shall not be entitled to an equal share. Whilst the House of Austria has every thing in hand, *à la Sicile près*, which they proposed by the war; whilst all the allies have had our annual tributes rather than subsidies, besides particular advantages stipulated to be made good to them at a peace, and some of them are already masters of greater rewards than their services deserve. From hence, in one word, it is that
our

our government is in a consumption, and that (how florid a countenance soever we put on) our vitals are consuming, and we must inevitably sink at once: add to this, that if we were able to bear the same proportion of charge some years longer, yet from the same fatal consequences, should certainly miss of the great general end of the war, the entire recovery of the Spanish monarchy from the House of Bourbon. This state is either a true or a false one; we take it to be a true one, and then I am sure there can be no dispute about the inference to be deduced from it.

May 8, 1711.

THERE is no manner of need of the excuse which your Excellency makes for the accounts you give of the detail of the several conferences. Those minute circumstances give very great light to the general scope and design of the persons negotiated with. And I own that nothing pleases me more in that valuable collection of the Cardinal d'Ossat's letters, than the *naïve* descriptions which he gives of the looks, gestures, and even tones of voice of the per-

sons he conferred with. The true and essential rule I take to be the digesting the matter distinctly and perspicuously. All your letters are kept with great privacy : But those subjects which relate to yourself, or any other particular persons, and those which are of a nature not to be communicated, even to the cabinet, till her Majesty shall think fit, should properly compose a separate letter ; and there is this good reason for it, that a secretary of state is under no obligation of leaving these in his office ; whereas those letters which contain the general thread of business, which are read in Cabinet, and have orders given publicly upon them, cease to be in his power, must be left to his successor, and ought to be laid up in the paper-office.

As to the Quaker Bromfield, I think your Excellency is upon a good foot with him. Let him earn the Queen's licence to come home, and then, on your recommendation, he may perhaps obtain it.

As to Caillaud, I believe he is very hearty in discovering all he can of Jacobite correspondences, and I hope the Queen will take
some

some occasion of recompensing his zeal ; but I cannot help thinking that Marfault invents a good deal of what he pretends to disclose.

Your Excellency will have seen, by my former letters to yourself, and by the copy of what I write to the Earl of Peterborough, how little his conduct is approved of here ; and I can assure you, that all I found by the letters sent by the courier, was, that his head was extremely hot, and confused with various indigested schemes.

Your Excellency may depend on my not communicating to Mr. Drummond any thing of what you write to me. I must say, in his excuse for what happened lately, that the Pensionaries having enjoined him secrecy, he could not, as an honest man, speak of it without their consent ; and for my own part, I had really communicated the matter to you if I had laid more weight upon it.

Your nicety about the President was very just, and he must have had entire communication of every transaction, since he was in the Queen's confidence more than he had ever been ; and indeed at the head of our

business* ; but he is gone, and the difficulty is removed.

I am of opinion, that your Excellency would do well to come over, and especially the negotiations for peace going on †. When I spoke to the Queen formerly on that subject, she agreed that you should, as soon as your business was entered upon at the Hague ; and I will not fail, by this post, or by that of Friday, to acquaint you with her pleasure, concerning the journey you propose.

I had almost forgot to say that the Queen's messengers are not to be either at your Excellency's expence or mine. We do indeed now and then advance them a little money, which is afterwards deducted when their

* He was uncle to her Majesty.

† The French memorial for a peace, brought by Gaultier to the British ministers, was at this time communicated privately to Heinsius and Buys, to which was returned an answer as follows :

La Grande Bretagne a communiqué à la Hollande les propositions qu'elle a reçu de la France, pour servir de fondement à un traité de paix. La Hollande souhaite également avec la Grande Bretagne, d'avoir une paix générale, définitive, et durable ; et assure être prête à se joindre dans tous les moyens les plus convenables pour la procurer. Elle remarque que les propositions sont encore trop générales ; elle desire, de même que la Grande Bretagne, que la France veuille s'expliquer plus particulièrement sur les points qui y sont contenus, et faire part du plan qu'elle trouve le plus propre pour assurer leurs intérêts aux puissances alliés, et pour établir le repos de l'Europe ; après quoi on pourra entrer dans une négociation plus étroite.

bills,

bills come to be allowed and paid. If your Excellency pleases to let me know what you have furnished to any of them, I will take care to have it accounted for.

Excuse this volume, and believe me to be with all possible respect and truth, my Lord, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

S I R,

May 8th, 1711.

I HAVE not writ to you of late very exactly, having had a great deal to do, and very little to communicate.

What happened relating to Monsieur Buys's project, gives me much speculation. I look upon the Grand Pensionary to have been the prompter of the gentleman who spoke to the ambassador, and his view, without dispute, was to break any private correspondence which might be carried on between us and Holland, of which he was not the leader. Be that as it will, the consequence signifies very little. If the Pensionary Heinfius will deal openly with us; and if he

is cured of his old prejudices, there is nothing which the Queen's servants desire more than to live in a perfect good understanding with him.

I am sorry that you find my Lord Ambassador still averse to Mr. Watkins; sure I am, that was the Judge not to be the Queen's secretary in Holland, I should be at a loss to name another, who can be spared, of sufficiency equal to the post. I hope a little time will remove these first and wrong impressions.

We are now, my good friend, come to the point of time which wise and thinking men have long foreseen, and have therefore earnestly desired to see a peace concluded before it happened.

Several concurrent accidents fall out together to break in upon the confederacy, and to turn the views of the allies different ways, which were all fixed before upon one common object. The war of the north, and the danger apprehended from the King of Sweden, diverts some of them from the prosecution of the common cause, and from the fears of the French grandeur. The death of the Emperor gives a new turn to the
politics

politics of Vienna, and raises new hopes in the ambitious mind of the Duke of Savoy. There is at this time a ferment, and a clashing of various interests, which are delicate to manage, enough to perplex the wisest heads, in the most quiet times, to settle and to reconcile. How we shall calm these passions, and prevent the adversary from striking in with some one, is hard to say, and almost impossible to expect.

I hope and believe as you do, that we are in no danger at present of having an attempt made by the Chevalier upon any of the Queen's dominions; however, the alarm of this, and the armament in West France, has made it necessary to collect a squadron in the Downs, and we shall be strangely shocked (I deal plainly with you) if the States should not, in such a conjuncture, send a squadron of ships to join our fleet which is assembling in the Channel. They are the cause that we are so weak at home, and that we are forced to stop our convoys, and call in our cruizers, in order to be able to gather together four or five and twenty men of war. Adieu, I am ever, your's.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

May 8, 1711.

THE concern which your Grace expresses yourself to be under in your's of the 7th instant, N.S. must affect all those who think of public affairs, and who wish well to the common cause.

We are now in one of those conjunctures, when we must watch for some lucky event to draw ourselves out of the difficulties which surround us, and take care not to miss laying hold of the first favourable accident which time produces.

One rule may certainly be laid down, and that is, that we cannot be too open nor too zealous in promoting the election of King Charles to the empire, nor, on the other hand, too silent on the subject of the Spanish succession, nor too industrious to evade entering on that argument. I wish all the Queen's ministers had been of this mind, but I believe your Grace knows that there is one who has not.

I have put Major Leathe's memorial into the Secretary at War's hands, and I will
not

not fail to promote the dispatch of it with her Majesty, since it is a matter which your Grace appears concerned for.

Mr. Harley's project for providing a fund of interest for the national debts, is agreed to with great applause, and without the presence of an objection; and yet I am sorry to be able to tell your Grace, that the discrediting of it is made a party cause; and that there has not been any one point a great while laboured more strenuously than the sinking of this and all other parts of credit, which naturally should rise upon such a provision made for debts, the payment whereof was, I believe, thought very remote when this parliament sat down. I make no doubt, however, but these artifices will end in the confusion of those who devise and promote them.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Scott.

SIR,

May the 8th, 1711.

IT is some time since I spoke to her Majesty in your behalf, and proposed to employ

*

you

you in the affairs of the north, which are now hastening to that degree of confusion that I have long expected, and which was unavoidable, after we had once neglected the opportunity of making the King of Sweden our affectionate friend or our impotent enemy. The Queen inclined to make use of your services; and I believe you would have, some time since, received your letters of credence and instructions, if any one but the Duke of Queensberry had been to dispatch the former. But as these are to be directed to the king of Poland, they must come out of his office, although the chief part of your business will lie in my province. On Sunday, her Majesty told me that she would give her orders for your dispatches without loss of more time, so that I believe, you may expect them in a post or two; and at the same time I will begin a regular correspondence with you. In the mean while, you will be taking your measures both as to your private and as to your public business. With respect to the former, Dr. Hutton will be on this your solicitor; and with respect to the latter, you will have several opportunities

opportunities of picking up informations necessary for your conduct where you are.

I took occasion to tell the Baron de Bothmar, that the Queen, I thought, intended to make use of you in her foreign affairs, that I hoped his Electoral Highness* would not disapprove of your accepting such a commission, since serving his court and serving ours was almost the same thing, the interest of the two being so nearly allied.

The Queen has a secretary called Mackenzie, now with the King of Poland. I hear that he is a good honest man, but indeed his talents do not seem to be very great. However, you will be able to make some use of him.

Mr. Whitworth, who is extremely capable, is ordered to suspend his journey into Muscovy, and to continue in the empire some part of the summer, at least till the election of the Emperor is over. He will go to Dresden from Berlin, where he now is, but not to continue there any time. I will introduce you to his correspondence as soon as it is proper.

* Of Hanover.

I desire you, Sir, to be persuaded that I am, with very great truth, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

S I R,

May 15, 1711.

I HAVE the favour of three letters from you, of the 15th and 22d of this month, N.S. with several papers inclosed.

My Lord Ambassador Raby is a very good man, but he has the misfortune of being a little too apt to take umbrage, and to be punctilious. I hope, however, that the cross-accident which you speak of sticks no longer with him; and you will have seen by a former letter of mine, the reflection I make upon the divulging of that secret, which certainly came from Pensionary Heinsius, with what view is palpable enough.

As to Harry Watkins, the Ambassador expresses no dislike of his person, abstractedly; but, on other accounts, he still appears uneasy at his being appointed Secretary of the embassy. I have, therefore, determined to write to his Excellency, that

Mr.

Mr. Watkins was named as the properest man to serve the Queen, and to be assistant to him, and that I shall still continue to think him so; but that my friendship for him will not suffer me to let him go to any post, where I have not reason to think he will be welcome, and where a true value will not be set upon his merit; that, therefore, his Excellency is desired to be very plain in this matter, since if he desires to have the benefit of Mr. Watkins's experience and capacity in business, the first intention shall be made good; but otherwise, I will intreat her Majesty to do somewhat better for this gentleman, and to nominate another person to go to the Hague.

This proceeding has a good air, let the event be what it will; and you may assure the Judge*, that I take myself to be much more concerned in the affair than he is. One way or another, he shall find his account in it.

I thank you very heartily for your care in procuring me the Bay-trees, and hope you will advertise me in time of their arrival,

* Watkins had been Judge-advocate.

that I may have one of my gardeners ready to take them out of the ships, and to convey them to Bucklebury. I cannot plunge myself so far into the thoughts of public business, as to forget the quiet of a country retreat, whither I will go some time or other, and am always ready to go at an hour's warning.

I have such frequent occasions of giving you necessary trouble, that I ought not to detain you long when I have nothing to say. Believe me to be, with the utmost sincerity,

Your's, &c.

To the Duke Marlborough.

MY LORD,

May 15, 1711.

I AM extremely concerned to find by your Grace's private letter of the 18th of this month, N.S. that you have been indisposed. Your health is of so much consequence to the Queen's service and to the interest of the common cause, that, besides the apprehensions of a friend, I must be allowed those of a well-wisher to the public upon any accident which happens to your Grace.

Mr.

Mr. Palmes is come over miserably crippled with the gout, and I find that the projects he has brought, are verbatim the same with those sent some time since by Lord Peterborough. They are vast, and suppose nothing less than the restoring all the troops which belong to the Spanish war, to their established numbers of 52,000 men, besides taking 5000 Swifs, and 8000 Imperialists more into the Queen's pay. You know, my Lord, how little able we are to enter into such an increase of charge, and will therefore easily believe that these papers are already grown dusty on the office-shelves.

We are undoubtedly exposed to the mischiefs mentioned by Monsieur Slingeland *, and I fear that all the secret instructions which he has given to Monsieur Ranck, without any communication to the Queen's ministers, will not secure us from the ill consequences of the King of Sweden's operations in the North.

We look upon Lord Peterborough to be now at Barcelona. I pray God the haste which he is in to bring King Charles into

* Secretary to the Council of State in Holland.

the Empire, where his presence is entirely unnecessary, do not prove of advantage to the Duke of Anjou, notwithstanding the arrival of Jennings * from Britain, and Norris from Italy, as well as of the convoy from Naples.

I expect to hear that the Marquis du Bourg † is come to London every moment, since by my letters on Friday last from the Hague, he intended to sail with that boat.

The Duke of Savoy's resolving to take the field, and the conclusion of the peace with the Hungarians, are two articles of news which we received with very great satisfaction.

The Queen has had some little attack of the cholic in her stomach, but is much better, and lies at present at Kensington.

I am, &c.

* The Admirals Jennings and Norris.

† Envoy of Savoy at the Hague.

A Monsieur de Tallard.

MONSIEUR,

Ce 17^{me} Mai, 1711.

J'AI reçu votre lettre du 5^{me} de ce mois aussi bien que celle que votre homme d'affaires m'a rendu.

Ce me feroit le plus grand plaisir du monde de pouvoir vous envoyer la permission que vous demandez, & je vous prie de vous reposer sur ma parole, que je ne négligerai rien qui dépend de moi pour vous la procurer.

Celui que vous envoyez en France, a été d'abord expédié ; pour satisfaire à la règle, j'ai parcouru des lettres que vous avez écrit au Roi de France, mais je les ai dans l'instant remis au porteur, vous pouvez être très-assuré que je ne dirai à qui que ce soit ce qu'elles contiennent.

Votre parole d'honneur me suffit, & je n'ai pas voulu cacheter les paquets dont votre homme étoit chargé, ni prendre sur cette occasion des précautions accoutumées.

Je vous envoie une lettre que le Chevalier Walter m'a prié de vous faire tenir.

On ne peut être plus sensible à vos mal-

heurs, on ne peut avoir plus d'estime pour votre personne, ni être avec plus de respect que je le suis,

Monfieur, &c.

To Lord Raby.

MY LORD,

May 18th, 1711.

AFTER having writ to you a private letter of so unconscionable a length as that of the 8th, I should be ashamed to trouble your Excellency so soon with another, were there not some matter to be spoke of to you, not proper to be inserted in my other dispatch.

Upon consideration of what your Excellency says concerning the treaty with the Elector of Bavaria, her Majesty is of opinion that this Prince should not be absolutely neglected, nor the negociation be quite laid aside, though she never looked upon it as a very promising scheme. To admit him to have his part in this election, her Majesty thinks too dangerous an experiment, but she remembers that, by the former accounts, he seemed to desire to have the
treaty

treaty of neutrality first executed, and the other to be negociated whilst that subsisted.

Now, if he will stand to his own proposal, the commencement of the second treaty might be fixed at a time subsequent to the election, and, by consequence, any danger of disturbing the Empire be avoided. But even in this case, the Queen thinks that if he should not finish and execute the second treaty within a reasonable time to be agreed on, the first should then be looked upon as void and of no effect.

Monfieur du Bourg is come, and I have seen him in one visit of ceremony. He has a great deal of spirit, and seems to be very adroit. I am to meet him in a day or two, with my Lord Chamberlain and Mr. Harley, on the subject of his secret commission, of which I will give your Excellency an account. In the mean time, he agrees with me, that the best thing, even for his master's interest, is to have at present all discourse of the Spanish monarchy avoided. There is a manner of knowing one another's mind

without coming to direct and premature declarations*.

I may tell your Excellency, in confidence, that I have a letter of twenty sheets from Lord Peterborough, wherein the whole world is parcelled out, as if with a fiat and the breath of his mouth it could be accomplished. Warm with these ideas, he is gone to Barcelona. We expect impatiently the return of Barlow. I expected that the message he carried would have the reception which your Excellency describes.

As to your private interest, I will be a watchful and a faithful servant to you; and it is with pleasure that I assure your Excellency, that I have found the Queen rather increase in her favour to you. Of which, that you may have all the proofs you can desire, is the wish and shall be the endeavour of your Excellency's, &c.

P.S. I had almost forgot to mention another matter to your Excellency, which

* The re-instatement of the Elector of Bavaria, and the pretensions of Savoy to the Crown of Spain, were probably settled by the ministry at this time, considering that France would demand the one, and Savoy require the other.

omission I should not have forgiven myself; and it is in relation to Mr. Watkins. He was named, my Lord, as secretary to the embassy, for no reason but this, because he is indisputably the fittest man who can be had for that employment; and therefore the most likely to be assistant to your Excellency. However, as in all instances I desire to contribute to your Excellency's satisfaction, and am not conscious to myself of having done the contrary in any, with design, so I must own it concerns me a good deal to observe that you are pleased to speak of this gentleman, as one who is put upon you. For God's sake, my Lord, use me like your faithful servant, and tell me whether you can be reconciled to try him or not; since, if your Excellency is determined against him, I will apply to her Majesty to do something else for Mr. Watkins, and never send him where he is not likely to be welcome.

To the Earl of Orrery.

MY LORD,

May 18, 1711.

WHEN you lay your commands upon me, I desire you will not imagine that you give me any trouble: I can have no greater pleasure than serving you; and if my power was equal to my inclination, your desires would be satisfied as soon as signified.

Do you not remember, my Lord, a certain time last summer, when for several weeks I avoided writing to you, although I knew how uneasy the pangs of expectation were to the Duke of Argyle and yourself, in that crisis of domestic affairs? We are now in a state not very unlike to that which we were then in. Mr. Harley, since his recovery, has not appeared at the Council, or at the Treasury at all, and very seldom in the House of Commons. We, who are reputed to be in his intimacy, have few opportunities of seeing him, and none of talking freely with him. As he is the only true channel through which the Queen's pleasure is conveyed; so there is, and must be a perfect

fect stagnation till he is pleased to open himself, and set the water flowing*.

You remember, my Lord, that a scene of action followed last year, very quickly after that full stop which seemed to have been put to the measures then carrying on. I hope the same will again happen; and as soon as I discern the least appearance of it, you shall hear from me on the subject. I fancy the delay will not be long, and that the alterations will begin with the promotion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the Earldom of Oxford, and to the rank of Treasurer.

I do not in the least wonder that your Lordship seems enamoured with the Duke of Shrewsbury. I never knew a man so formed to please, and to gain upon the affection whilst he challenges the esteem.

The poor Mr. Southern complains extremely, I believe, but I hope Mr. Fenton will not be of his mind. The verses were so near being admirable, that it would have been pity to have let them go into the world

* Harley was always considered as a very reserved man, but at this time began the rupture between him and Bolingbroke, which was fatal to both.

without one stroke more of the file; I have ventured to make some alterations, and to mark other places where I think alterations shall be made; Dr. Robert Friend* agrees with me, and therefore I believe I was right. In short, I dare promise, that Mr. Fenton will not have less applause, though he will have it later than if Mr. Southern had governed.

Adieu, my dear Lord, having no business in command to write to you upon, this is the only letter which you will have by this post from

Your's, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

May 22, 1711.

ALL your letters are very acceptable to me, but none could be more so than your last, of the 26th instant, N.S. since none could contain a more welcome account of the dispositions of that great minister, the

* He was afterwards master of Westminster-school. His brother, the physician, was a writer of the Examiner, and had the office of Physician-general.

Pensionary.

Pensionary. He may be assured of meeting on our side with at least equal returns of friendship; and you can be a witness with how much concern we beheld the ill effect, which the factious endeavours of some ambitious men amongst us, had in Holland. We feel no less satisfaction in observing the change, and I can make no doubt but that the harmony between the Queen's ministers and those of the States will every day increase, since it is our mutual interest and our mutual inclination.

I believe my Lord Raby will have the Queen's leave very soon to take a short turn hither; we shall send him back to you fully instructed in all the Queen's intentions; and I hope measures may be fallen into as will tie the knot still faster between Britain and Holland. Our union has supported the war, and by supporting that has preserved Europe from oppression. The same union must be secured in peace; that, whatever incidents happen, these nations may continue the shield of liberty and Protestantism.

It was with very real pleasure that her Majesty heard me read that passage in your letter, where you mention that generous
warmth

warmth with which the Pensionary expressed himself, when he said, that no little difference of commerce should ever create jealousies between England and Holland, if it were in his power to prevent it. I hope it will be in his power, since we can never break but to our common ruin, and since there is no other seed of division which can probably grow up to any head. I can see very plainly from what springs these jealousies may flow; you touched upon some of them. The honest men of both nations, whose souls are above the little schemes of over-reaching one another, must lend their attention therefore in time to prevent the mischief.

We look on the general state of affairs with the same eye as the Pensionary does, but as to Spain I cannot help saying to you, that people reflect how little has been done by Holland even since the misfortunes of the last campaign. We have advanced all our subsidies in great measure; we have sent eleven battalions from England and Ireland to Portugal and Spain, besides 3000 recruits, and 2000 horse from Italy. The
Dutch

Dutch have sent nothing, that we know of, but a general.

I do not believe that the enemy intend to play their Prince upon us, and yet their preparation is such as makes it necessary for us to act as if we did believe it. Give me leave to add, that Holland will have no very good grace, unless they show a readiness upon the same occasion, and that the Queen deserves no less at their hands. Is it impossible to penetrate the real design of Du Guay's equipment? Some intelligence we have, says his ships are victualled for eight months*.

The post is come in since I writ what goes before, and I have in your letter of the 29th, a very full account of the Brest equipment, for which I desire you to accept of my hearty thanks.

I am sure you will be glad to hear that I have passed the warrant for creating Mr. Harley Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. The next news I shall send you concerning him will be that the Treasurer's staff is put into his hands.

* He was destined for the Portuguese settlement of St. Sebastian, which he made himself master of.

I hope,

I hope, among other good effects of this promotion, that it will teach the Dutch politicians not to look on a man to be dead because he is out of employment. This you will say may now be applied to Lord Godolphin; but there are many material differences between his removal and that of Mr. Harley. There is this, I am sure, that neither his life nor his reputation are sought after, whereas our friend was attacked in both.

I have nothing farther to add, but the sincerest assurances of my being

Your's, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

May 22, 1711.

I HAVE read your Grace's private letter of the 28th instant, N.S. which I received this morning, to the Queen, to the Duke of Shrewsbury, and to Mr. Harley. Your Grace will easily believe that her Majesty is extremely displeased to find the regiments of foot so very weak. The neces-

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sary

fary orders will be given here for quickening any officers belonging to these battalions who may be recruiting in Britain. The effectual remedy to this scandalous neglect, the Queen thinks must be particular notice and censure of those who are in fault. This remedy it is in your Grace's power to use, and her Majesty's concurrence will infallibly support what you shall think proper to do upon this occasion.

The two memorials inclosed in your last, as well as that of Mr. Leathes, I will take care very soon to give your Grace an account of.

The Queen, my Lord, commands me to recommend another affair, on the success of which her heart is entirely set, to your Grace's prudence; you will find, by my two other letters in French and English, how earnestly her Majesty desires you should press the Prince of Savoy to have the eight thousand men sent from Hungary, before the end of the campaign, into Italy, and with how much reason she expects and insists that this reinforcement should be furnished by the Court of Vienna on their own account. However, my Lord, that
the

the common cause may not suffer, if it is possible to prevent it, by the fatal obstinacy of those who are most concerned in interest to promote a vigorous war, I have orders to let your Grace know, that if you find, in treating with the Prince of Savoy, no possibility of obtaining these eight thousand men any other way, your Grace may promise him in the Queen's name, that, upon condition they march these troops to Italy, the Queen will allow a sum of money towards the maintenance of them. But she will be sure of the service before she puts herself to the expence, and trusts to your Grace not to make the offer but in case of necessity. It will be expedient not to have it known at first that the Queen has taken this new charge upon herself, that so we may have time to endeavour to draw the States into their share of it, or at least into something else, which may be a kind of equivalent.

The warrant is passed for creating Mr. Harley Earl of Oxford, of which I suppose you will hear by other hands.

May your Grace be successful abroad, and return with as much pleasure to Britain as ever you did at the end of your most prof-

prosperous years. These are the sincere wishes
of, my Lord,

Your's, &c.

To Lord Raby.

MY LORD,

May the 22d, 1711.

I THANK your Excellency for your two private letters of the 26th, and for that of the 29th, N.S. I have laid them before her Majesty, and her directions will be given in a day or two upon them. What I have at present to say to your Excellency on the chief subject which they relate to, is, that whenever a peace is treated, either the Dutch are to trust us, or we them; and therefore they must take no umbrage if we see how far the enemy will come towards a safe and honourable agreement. I hope all the Pensionary's professions are true, some I believe indeed are.

The Queen will give your Excellency leave to take a turn hither as soon as you please, and Mr. Harley (for so I must call him a day or two longer) thinks that the journey should not be much longer delayed.

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But

But your Excellency will judge in this matter better when you can be spared, than we perhaps can do on this side. I beg you will give me as early notice as you can of your setting out.

Before you leave the Hague, it will be necessary that you sound the Pensionary's mind about the Barrier treaty, since we would be glad to compound that matter with as little ill-will as possible.

Your Excellency will likewise endeavour to discover what sort of alliance the Dutch would desire should subsist between us in time of peace. There was a project of this kind formed in 1706, by Mr. Harley*. Those papers I will try to get into my hands, and be preparing, against you come over, a sketch of it.

The directions which your Excellency gives concerning the letters shall be observed.

I am, &c.

Mr. Harley's warrant has passed through my hands for creating him Earl of Oxford.

* Mr. Harley had been appointed Secretary of State in 1704, and resigned in 1708, during which period St. John was Secretary at War.

I say

I say nothing to your Excellency on your own account. That must be left to her Majesty, who will receive your Excellency in such a manner, I dare say, as your services deserve, and as will give you entire satisfaction. I have omitted two points, which by the next post I will write to you upon.

To Mr. Whitworth.

S I R,

May 29th, 1711.

I HAVE this day the favour of your private letter of the 19th, from Berlin; and I desire you to believe that those expressions, which you say you read with confusion, were used with sincerity. I serve with zeal myself, I see others endowed with great capacity; but I observe these two characters united in so few instances, that you must not wonder if I appear a little transported when I meet them together, as I do, without any compliment, very eminently in yourself.

By the next post, or by that of Tuesday, you shall hear from me, and be informed

where her Majesty's service will call upon you next. In the mean time, I find that Prince Kurakin* is very solicitous to have you at his master the new bridegroom's court.

I cannot tell whether my Lord Peterborough may not be a little uneasy when he finds you come to negociate a matter at Vienna, which has been in his hands already, but he can have no reason to be so, since this affair is of too great importance, and dispatch is too essential to the success of it, to have it trusted to the chance of his being returned in time to Vienna; you will by your address soften any discontent that may arise in his Lordship, whom I make no doubt but you will find extremely zealous in promoting every thing which relates to the public interest, and this scheme in a particular manner.

I am, &c.

* Ambassador to the court of Great Britain from the Czar, whose son had lately married a princess of Wolfenbuttle.

To Lord Raby.

MY LORD,

May 29, 1711.

I HOPE I begin my letter very agreeably to your Excellency, when I acquaint you, by her Majesty's order, that she would have your Excellency make all possible haste to come over, since her service may better dispense with your absence at this point of time, than it will perhaps do at another, and since we must now expect to have very soon upon the *tapis* many intrigues, concerning which the Queen thinks it expedient that you should confer with the ministers here, and have your instructions, in relation to them, formed with your own assistance. At the same time, her Majesty orders me to let your Excellency know, that she intends on your arrival in Britain, to give you that promotion in the peerage which you desire.

It had almost slipped me to say, that one great inducement to her Majesty to desire to see your Excellency here as soon as may be, is the message of the Marquis du Bourg. Her politics differ upon this subject a good deal, I believe, from those of the state where

Q 3

your

your Excellency resides ; and as the matter is of a very nice nature, Monsieur du Bourg will be kept till you come over, that the measures being taken whilst you are both on the spot, you may act in the better concert when you return to the other side. Your Excellency will take all occasions of insinuating, as adroitly as you can, that this minister's journey hither regards only military operations, and the Earl of Peterborough's projects.

Your Excellency will please not to communicate to the Pensionary, or any one else on that side, the errand on which Mr. Whitworth is sent to Vienna. I have little to say, in this letter, upon the several points contained in the private one which I am obliged to your Excellency for, since those matters will be one great part of what we shall have to debate here. Britain has gone so much too far in weaving her interest into that of the continent, that it will prove no easy task to disentangle our affairs, without tearing or rending.

I find that the Queen has not a yacht on your side of the water, neither can we immediately send one over, with a convoy,
for

for your Excellency. I will be preparing both for you, in case you determine to stay for their arrival ; but as your Excellency's stay here is likely to be very short, I suppose you will bring little equipage with you, and therefore may perhaps venture in the packet-boat.

I beg your Excellency to believe that I long extremely to have the pleasure of kissing your hands here, and that no man lives who is more truly, my Lord, your Excellency's, &c.

To Sir Howendon Walker.

SIR,

May the 29th, 1711.

BY letters which we received yesterday from Ireland, we were informed that the *Mary* transport was driven into that kingdom. I have got the Lords of the Admiralty to dispatch a frigate with her, and by this opportunity I write a few lines to you.

The French squadron being reported to be at sea when you left the Channel, and all

* Commander in chief of the sea forces on the expedition to Canada.

the cruifers ordered to join Sir J. Leake, I find there was fome difatisfaction at your taking the three fhips into the fea with you ; but no accident has happened ; and the French, according to our laft advices, were driven back into the ports of Weft France, fo that you need be under no uneafinefs, but may depend on my fupporting and juftifying your conduct.

Heaven prosper an undertaking fo much to the reputation and to the real benefit of our country. I make no doubt but as we have done our part here in fetting you out, fo you will do your's in executing the Queen's commands in North America.

The frigate which convoys the Mary, you will keep with you ; and let me defire you to remember to ufe all poffible diligence in giving, as many ways as you can, notice of your firft fuccefs, and other proceedings.

I muft entreat that you will prefer Mr. Garrard, and give your advice and inftructions to him where he may want them ; for I am, and have reafon to be, a true friend to his family.

There is nothing more which I have to
add,

add, your instructions being very ample and full.

I subscribe myself, Sir, &c.

To Brigadier Hill.*

S I R,

May the 29th, 1711.

YESTERDAY we had advice that the Mary, one of the transports, was driven by stress of weather into Ireland. I have already obtained an order to one of the Queen's frigates which attend that island, to hasten with the said transport after you, and I hope they may be able to join you before you proceed from Boston to Canada. Though the true secret of the expedition continues to be talked of, yet there is no certainty in the rumour; and I think I may assure you that the enemy are in the dark. God give you success; if good wishes can contribute to it, they are in no degree wanting. I am sure there is no need of saying any thing to animate you to pursue with vigour an undertaking, wherein the

* Commanding the land forces on the same expedition; he was brother to Lady Masham.

honour

honour of our mistress, and the most durable advantage to our country, is concerned; I shall, therefore, only renew my vows for your prosperity, and the assurances of my being, Sir, &c.

*To Mr. Dudley *.*

SIR,

May the 29th, 1711,

THE Mary transport, belonging to the fleet which sailed on the 4th of this month, under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker, Rear-admiral of her Majesty's white squadron, out of the Channel, having been separated and forced to return to Ireland, the Queen has thought fit to order a frigate to proceed immediately with her to Boston, in hopes that she may arrive there before the admiral is ready to depart from thence for the river of St. Lawrence. And in case the fleet shall be gone from Boston, upon the intended expedition, before the arrival of the frigate and transport, it is her Ma-

* Colonel Joseph Dudley, Governor of New England and New Hampshire.

jeſty's pleaſure that you uſe your utmoſt endeavour to ſupply them with any reſreſhment, ſtores, or other matter, whercof they may ſtand in need; and that you do uſe all poſſible diſpatch in haſtening them away, and giving them the proper directions for joining the Admiral, which directions the Commander of the man-of-war is by his inſtructions ordered to obſerve.

I am, &c.

A Monſieur le Marquis du Bourg.

MONSIEUR,

Ce 5^{me} Juin, 1711.

COMME vous avez demandé que je vous communiquaſſe par écrit, ce qui vous a été dit ce matin, par ordre de Sa Majeſté, dans la conférence que vous avez eu avec les Seigneurs du Conſeil, j'aurai l'honneur de vous faire ſavoir—que la Reine eſt non ſeulement portée par l'eſtime et par l'affection qu'elle a pour la perſonne de Son Alteſſe Royale votre Maître, à contribuer tout ce qui dépendra d'elle à l'avancement de ſes intérêts, mais auſſi qu'elle regarde l'agrandiſſement de
la

la maison de Savoyé comme un des moyens les plus sûrs de maintenir cette balance de pouvoir si essentielle au repos et au bonheur de l'Europe.

Que sa Majesté est résolue de mériter à l'avenir, comme elle croit avoir fait par le passé, cette confiance que Son Altesse Royale repose en elle; et que la Reine entre dans les vues de sa dite Altesse, tant sur le cas d'incompatibilité, que sur celui de l'union de l'Empire avec la Monarchie d'Espagne.

Que Sa Majesté regarde le mariage du Prince de Piémont à l'Archiduchesse comme le moyen le plus sûr & le plus équitable pour détourner les dangers auxquels Son Altesse Royale se croit exposée, dans un cas, & pour assurer ses prétensions dans l'autre. Qu'elle est prête à proposer ce mariage dans le tems & de la manière que Son Altesse Royale le jugera elle-même à propos. Mais qu'elle croit, que pour faciliter d'autant plus cet ouvrage, il sera nécessaire que l'Archiduchesse renonce aux pais héréditaires de l'Empire. Que sa Majesté travaillera immédiatement à mettre ses Alliés dans les mêmes sentimens, & qu'elle commencera, d'abord que my Lord Raby fera de retour en Hollande,

lande, à persuader à Messieurs les Etats d'agir sur le même plan. Que la Reine étant ainsi disposée à faire, dans cette conjoncture délicate, tout ce que Son Altesse Royale peut demander d'elle, Messieurs du Conseil sont prêts à conférer avec les ministres de votre maître, les mesures les plus propres pour faire réussir ses desseins.

Voilà, Monsieur, ce que j'ai eu ordre de vous écrire, & ce que je vous ai expliqué plus en détail de vive voix. Je suis, &c.

Je ne vous parle point de la commission que Monsieur Whitworth doit exécuter à Vienna, touchant le renfort des huit mille hommes, puisque vous êtes déjà très-bien instruit des ordres que sa Majesté a donné sur ce sujet.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

June 8, 1711.

I THANK your Grace for the honour of your private letters of the 8th of this month, N.S. both which I have read to the Queen. You will allow me to say, that an air of melancholy

melancholy runs through one of them, which communicated its infection to me.

The Committee of Council which sits at the War-office, is in a declining state, and will, I believe, very soon expire. This account I hear from thence, for I have not been there myself a considerable time.

If the news brought by our Ostend letters prove true, and the French have made a considerable detachment for Germany, their entrenching and covering themselves is accounted for by this, as well as by the diversion which they expect in the North. As to the latter, I begin to hope the King of Sweden will not be able to give us much disturbance this summer, and we shall be very much wanting to ourselves if we do not provide against another year.

Our parliament is at last ready to rise, and I hope the Queen will be able on Monday to put an end to the Session, which has half murdered me, for one.

Her Majesty has had the gout in her right arm, but without any great pain or uneasiness. In the main, I thank God, her health is very good.

That your Grace's is restored I very
4 heartily

heartily congratulate, and hope it will long continue. May you enjoy that happiness and quiet in an honourable old age, which you have done so much to procure to Europe for this and for succeeding generations.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Argyle.

MY LORD,

June the 12th, 1711.

I HAVE always professed myself to be your Grace's servant, and I will endeavour to convince you that those professions were sincere, and came from an honest heart; but, my Lord, I believe your Grace will agree that it was impossible to press your recall from Spain, after her Majesty had been pleased to declare that she would write herself to you upon that subject *.

I own, my Lord, the present state of the war is bad, and the prospect we have be-

* The Duke of Argyle had been, during the war, in Flanders, where a jealousy was excited between him and Marlborough: to make both easy, the Queen gave the former the command in chief in Spain, and at the same time appointed him Ambassador-extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to King Charles; though his acceptance of the command was for some time doubtful, affairs in Spain being desperate, after the misfortunes of last year.

fore us worse, considering how impossible it is for Britain to bear any longer the whole load; and how little inclination those powers, who are by interest most nearly concerned, seem to show to take upon them what properly belongs to them.

In Spain your Grace will, without dispute, have a very difficult part to act; but the disadvantages you are to lie under must, in my humble opinion, afford opportunities of increasing, and can by no means be the cause of lessening, your reputation.

I cannot help thinking, that measures should be taken for every part of the war, and supplies sent with no other regard than that of the public interest, according to the general scheme framed in the beginning of the year. If the person, commanding in any particular place, was to be considered, your Grace has friends here who would please themselves in making your power as great and extensive as they could.

It depends at this time on the House of Austria, whether such a diversion shall be made, as will effectually give you ease in Catalonia, and afford us time to restore our troops, and think of new means for sup-

porting the war in that part. Your Grace will have heard from my Lord Dartmouth what the Queen expects should be sent, before the end of the campaign, to reinforce the Duke of Savoy. If these troops be given, we make little doubt of establishing ourselves on this side the Hills*; and Mr. Whitworth is gone to make such propositions at Vienna to this purpose, that we must look upon a refusal of them as an absolute desertion of the common cause.

Breton having bought Mr. Waitland's regiment, for which he is principally obliged to yourself and Lord Ilay, Gardner and Middleton press extremely for his immediate return to Britain, as a point wherein his interest is to the last degree concerned; and, indeed, it is with no small trouble that I hinder his Grace of Queensberry from modelling his regiment for him. I dare flatter myself that you, my Lord, will be so kind to him as to order him home; which I shall look upon as a new favour conferred on one who is tied to you by a

* The Alps. The Duke of Savoy, this year, penetrated into France as far as the Rhône, which prevented the French increasing their forces opposed to the Duke of Argyle.

great many, and who is with the utmost respect, my Lord, your Grace's, &c.

To the Earl of Orrery.

MY LORD,

June the 12th, 1711.

I FIND, with very much concern, by your letter of the 20th, N.S. that you have been out of order. The fatigue and vexation of mind, to which the distracted condition of the Spanish Netherlands must have exposed you, were sufficient mortifications. A fever besides, was more than fell to one man's share.

I hope the cavil about the money to be stopped from Mr. Meredyth, is over; and indeed it is very surprising to me that it was suffered to last so long, since the Queen explained herself sufficiently at first, and directed that whether the 1800l. was paid to Meredyth on account of the government of Tinmouth, or on account of the debt which incumbered his regiment, it should, however, be stopped out of the 3000l. and
be

be applied to the latter*. I wish I had more leisure for business out of my office, you should not have had a moment of trouble on this score.

The Pretender is at last set out from St. Germain's, according to the intelligence which you have sent me, and the advices which I have otherways received†. Our fleet is off West France at this time; and he would find it a difficult enterprize to pass to any part of the Queen's dominions; but, for my share, I believe now, as I have done all along, that he never intended an invasion. However, by the rumour, and by the appearances of it, we have had an opportunity of seeing what excellent guarantees of our succession the Dutch are likely to prove; and how fine a bargain those people made, who sacrificed the liberty of the Spanish Netherlands, and that part of the trade of Britain, to the States, under this pretence ‡.

* When Meredyth was permitted to sell out, the price was 3000*l.* and Lord Orrery got the regiment. Meredyth, in a letter to St. John, 2d May, 1711, complains of the distress of his family, and his hard usage after twenty-three years service.

† He went into Dauphiny, on a visit to the Duke of Berwick, and returned through Languedoc to St. Germain's.

‡ By the Barrier Treaty.

We have not, at the hour I write, one ship of Holland to join the Queen's fleet, though we have solicited, every post these many months, that a squadron might be prepared, in pursuance of the most solemn engagement.

My Lord Raby is coming hither for some days. The Queen would be glad to have your Lordship contrive to be at the Hague, on account of settling some better regulation of government for the Low Countries belonging to King Charles, during the time the ambassador is absent; since business daily may arise which will require the presence of one of you in so busy a scene as the Hague is, and must be whilst the war continues.

Our friend, Mr. Harley, is now Earl of Oxford, and High Treasurer.

This great advancement is, what the labour he has gone through, the danger he has run, and the services he has performed, seem to deserve. But he stands on slippery ground, and envy is always near the great, to fling up their heels on the least trip which they make. The companions of his evil fortune are most likely to be the supporters

porters of his good; and I dare say he makes this a maxim to himself; for though he often wants that grace and openness which engages the affection, yet I must own, I never knew that he wanted either the constancy or the friendship which engages the esteem.

The Peerage * which you expect, will be declared; and you will have a companion, whom I am confident you cannot but like, my Lord Keeper Harcourt.

Many changes have been made at the rising of the parliament, which was this day prorogued to the 10th of July; and although they are such as ought to satisfy our friends, yet the number of the discontented must always exceed that of the contented, as the number of pretenders does that of employments. I confess to you, my Lord, that it made me melancholy to observe the eagerness with which places were solicited for; and though interest has at all times been the principal spring of action, yet I never saw men so openly claim their hire, or offer themselves to sale. You see the effects

* Baron Boyle, of Marlston, in the county of Somerset.

of frequent parliaments, and of long wars, of departing from our old constitution, and from our true interest.

I must, before I send this letter, give your Lordship an account of a club which I am forming; and which, as light as the design may seem to be, I believe will prove of real service *. We shall begin to meet in a small number, and that will be composed of some who have wit and learning to recommend them; of others who, from their own situations, or from their relations, have power and influence, and of others who, from accidental reasons, may properly be taken in. The first regulation proposed, and that which must be inviolably kept, is decency. None of the extravagance of the kit-cat †, none of the drunkenness of the beef-stake is to be endured. The improvement of friendship, and the encouragement of letters, are to be

* The members were, Earl of Arran, Lord Harley, Duke of Ormond, Swift, Sir Robert Raymond, Arbuthnot, Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Duplin, Sir William Wyndham, George Granville, Masham, Earl of Jersey, Bathurst, Orrery, Colonel Hill, Colonel Desney, Bolingbroke, Duke of Beaufort, Prior, Dr. Friend, &c. Their meetings were first at their several houses, but afterwards they hired a room near St. James's.

† This kit-cat was instituted in 1699. Congreve, Prior, Sir John Vanburgh, the Earl of Orrery, and Lord Somers were members.

the two great ends of our society. A number of valuable people will be kept in the same mind, and others will be made converts to their opinions.

Mr. Fenton, and those who, like him, have genius, will have a corporation of patrons to protect and advance them in the world. The folly of our party will be ridiculed and checked; the opposition of another will be better resisted; a multitude of other good uses will follow, which I am sure do not escape you; and I hope in the winter to ballot for the honour of your company amongst us.

I am ever, my dear Lord, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

June 12th, 1711.

I AM to ask your pardon, and do so very heartily, for being too little punctual in acknowledging the favours of your instructive letters. Your last of the 19th, N.S. came this morning to my hands.

The Chevalier is gone at last to make his progress; there is some mystery in his

R 4 journey,

journey, or they have at St. Germain's the secret of affecting that air well ; but an invasion of the Queen's dominions is certainly not the secret. Sir John Leake is at sea, with a squadron of ships sufficient to baffle any force which France is able to equip; and I am one of those who never believed that an attempt of this kind was meditated by the enemy. However, the appearances looked that way ; and by the little inclination which the Dutch have shown at this time to comply with the Queen's demand of ships, to assist her fleet, it is easy to judge what zeal those guarantees of our succession would exert in a real danger. I dare say that the preservation of a herring-buss would sway more than that of their good ally Queen Anne. My thoughts are very plainly expressed, perhaps too much so, but I had a mind that you should feel, as we do, the ill treatment which we receive from the States in relation to the naval service. Be all this said to yourself.

Our parliament is this day prorogued to the 10th of the next month ; and though we met full of resentment for the ill usage which we had received from the tyranny

of the Whigs; though there were various opportunities of attacking particular persons, who deserved no better at our hands; and though the majority of our friends in parliament, elected by as great a majority in the several counties, was unexampled; yet you find a representation of some of our grievances has been the harshest thing which we have done. No man has been forced from his seat, purely because we did not like him; no person has been impeached; and, in a word, no Whig-moderation has been shown*.

On the other hand, the best and amplest funds have been carefully found, and cheerfully given, the debts of the nation have been provided for, and trade so long and so scandalously neglected, has been begun to be thought of.

I hope we have some degree of reputation among our allies, with whom you live. I believe I may engage that they shall neither have reason to reproach us for deserting their interest, nor to laugh at us for neglecting our own.

* This moderation, however, was greatly against the opinion and wishes of the violent Tories; and particularly of those composing the October Club, which consisted of more than a hundred members of parliament, and was the reason why Lord Oxford's administration was not heartily supported by them.

Persuade your friends in Holland to allow us to have some care of Britain, without prejudice to them, and assure them that we will give no cause of complaint. But they must cease to be jealous of every measure which has the least appearance of being advantageous to this island.

My Lord Raby will receive Mr. Watkins with a very good grace; and I always knew that, at last, he would do so; but now I will tell you that the Judge shall not stick long there. My Lord Treasurer has a farther and much better view for him.

We expect Lord Raby every day in Britain; his stay here will be short, and he will return with a very signal mark of the Queen's favour, as his predecessor has already received one of her displeasure, my Lord Townshend's staff * being given to Mr. Paget.

Shall we not see you any time this summer in Britain? I think you would have some satisfaction, which letters cannot give, in seeing with your own eyes those friends in power whom you beheld in distress; and that honest cause in a flourishing condition, which

* As Captain of yeomen of the guard.

you remember very low, oppressed by faction, and insulted by the most scandalous part of our nation.

Let me hear in your next what is said in Holland concerning Mr. Hill's expedition, our Company for the South-Sea trade *, my Lord Raby's journey, and the present situation in general.

Adieu, dear Sir, believe me to be, &c.

A Monsieur le Comte de Wratislaw †.

MONSIEUR,

Ce 15^{me} Juin, 1711.

J'AI reçu la lettre dont il vous a plu charger Monsieur Palmes à son départ de Vienna, et me sens extrêmement obligé de l'honneur de votre souvenir.

Le plan, que vous m'avez envoyé, est tout-à-fait beau, mais, dans les conjonctures présentes, il nous paroît un peu trop difficile à exécuter. Songeons, en premier lieu, à

* This was a scheme of Lord Oxford's, to satisfy all public debts, and to make good all deficiencies.

† John Wincefflaus Comte de Wratislaw, had been many years Envoy-extraordinary from the Imperial and Spanish court, and was now Minister of State to the Emperor.

remettre nos affaires délabrées en Catalogne, et à pousser une guerre vive dans les endroits où elle est déjà allumée; après cela il sera tems de commencer de nouvelles attaques.

Notre bonne volonté nous a portée jufques ici à faire plus qu'on auroit dû attendre de nos forces; et par tout ce que le parlement, qui vient de finir fes féances, a fait, je ne doute point que vous ne foyez convaincu que cette bonne volonté ne fe ralentira pas.

J'efpère que Monsieur Whitworth fera arrivé à Vienna, felon les ordres qu'il a reçu de la Reine, pour exécuter une commiffion qui nous paroît de la dernière conféquence, et dans laquelle il ne manquera pas d'avoir l'appui d'un miniftre auffi zélé et auffi prudent que vous.

Je me recommande à l'honneur de vos bonnes grâces, et je ferai toujours, avec beaucoup d'eftime, Monsieur, &c.

*To Mr. Brydges *.*

DEAR SIR,

June 22d, 1711.

AS bufy as I am of a post-night, I cannot omit writing to you upon a fubject

* James Brydges, afterwards Duke of Chandos, and at this time Paymaster-general of the forces abroad.

wherein

wherein I think myself particularly concerned. Mr. Blake made a very considerable provision of all sorts of stores for the expedition commanded by Brigadier Hill*. As those preparations both for land and sea were kept private, and went almost singly through my hands, so it fell to my share to contract on this occasion by the Queen's command. The poor man is, I believe, half broke and discredited by being kept so long out of his money, after having extended his credit to the utmost stretch. My Lord Treasurer has promised to give dispatch to this affair; and I am confident will do it even to-morrow morning, if you are so kind as to demand the money. Mr. Blake is in danger of being arrested. I am sure I had rather be so, than be teased at the rate I have been about this matter. I beg your assistance herein; and shall take it for as great a favour as if I was personally concerned in it.

I am, &c.

* Harley, in his "Brief Account," &c. asserts that he resisted the payment of 28,000*l.* for this expedition; that at last the Queen ordered it to be paid; but upon enquiry it turned out that the public had been defrauded of 20,000*l.* But it is to be observed that Harley had then broken with St. John.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

June 22d, 1711.

I AM to acknowledge your's of the 23d of this month, N.S. and I hope that mine of the 12th instant is come to your hands.

The Pensionary judges, I think, very well, in desiring that you should defer your journey to Britain, till my Lord Ambassador Raby is returned to the Hague. What he will have to say to the ministers of Holland may very probably furnish them with matter, which they will be glad to have the opportunity of communicating to us, through so safe a channel as yourself.

I am glad that the Pensionary seems pleased with my Lord Raby's journey hither, which has, with so little reason, made so much noise. We expected no less from the Pensionary's wisdom and experience. Those of little genius and narrow souls are apt to take umbrage, and to be startled at every trifle; but men of his knowledge in business and superior understanding are more composed.

The little dabblers in politics, both here
and

and abroad, have amused themselves and others of their own calibre, with a thousand speculations, first upon the voyage of the Marquis de Bourg, and next upon that of the Queen's ambassador. I may say to you, that for the former there was no reason that I can conceive, except Lord Peterborough's inclination to mortify the Count Maffei, whom he looks upon as a friend to the Duke of Marlborough, since du Bourg was charged with no commission which we should not have treated upon with the same freedom, if the other had been intrusted in it. For the journey of my Lord Raby, that was owing at this time to the Queen's intention of restoring to him the title of Strafford, and the promotion of peers coming on, I writ to him to come over. But give me leave to ask, if there really had been any grounds to believe that overtures of peace were made to Britain, what occasion would there have been for so much jealousy? How constant has the intercourse been between Holland and France, and how well known the correspondence upon this very subject? Are we become fit for nothing but the business of asses, to be loaded, bridled, and
guided

guided at the discretion of others? You may assure our friends, and we shall make those assurances good, that the Queen is no more capable of departing from her engagements, and from a due regard to her allies, than she is from the common interest; and however some may have sacrificed all these in the war, she will neither give up any of them either in war or in peace. The end of the war is heartily to be wished, but, great as this blessing is, we shall never embrace it without the concurrence of the States, and the satisfaction of our confederates. At the same time you will agree, that whenever a peace is set on foot, there must be, especially in the first steps, a trust reposed somewhere; and we think that can be no where better lodged than in the Queen. God knows what terms any of us may obtain; but a little better care must be taken of the interest of Britain, than was in the famous preliminaries; and we shall not think that those indulgences which we may have to ask, will be either equal to the part we have had in the war, or to the acquisitions which we have thrown into the hands of Holland.

The

The French fleet is gone at last from West France, and I believe, as you do, to Brazil. That enterprize may very probably succeed, which it is by no means our interest that it should; but we have too many irons in the fire, to take care of every part of both worlds. The supposition of some people, that Monsieur du Guay was to follow Rear Admiral Walker, I do not look upon to be probable, since the destination of our squadron has been kept very secret; and since that of the enemy is fitted out at the charge of private persons, who are to look for profit and not for dry blows *.

I will not fail to observe the caution you give me as to Lord Raby, whose failings I know, as well as his good qualities.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

June the 22d, 1711.

I THANK your Grace very much for

* Du Guay attacked and plundered the Portuguese settlement of St. Sebastian on the Rio de Janeiro, but the booty fell far short of the expence of the expedition.

the two private letters which I received by the last mails.

The Queen must look upon herself to have done much more than could be expected from her, in the affair of the reinforcement desired for the Duke of Savoy; and I believe all mankind will join in thinking the Court of Vienna without excuse, if Mr. Whitworth is able to do nothing in the commission given to him. It is hard to forbear on this occasion making reflections on the unequal foot whereon we stand in this war; but your Grace knows this matter, and has, I doubt not, frequently lamented the unhappy situation which we are in.

What shall we say of the King of Prussia*? Monsieur Ilgen and his new counsellors make him dance on a rope; for surely he cannot come to extremities with us, but he must embarrass and expose himself at the same time.

Monsieur du Bourg has had his audience

* The King of Prussia would not permit his troops to leave their winter-quarters until he received full satisfaction for arrears due to him, and for his succession to the estates of the late King William, as Prince of Orange. The States-general were obliged to promise payment of the former demand in four months, and the immediate arrangement of the latter.

of leave, and will, I suppose, be going very soon away. Monsieur de Bothmar is likewise returning to Holland, and will be back before the next winter.

The court of France will hardly be so sanguine as their general, nor give him the orders which he desires to execute. Should fighting councils prevail, they might perhaps give your Grace another opportunity of adding to your laurels, and of reviving a drooping cause.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

June 26th, 1711.

I HAD the honour to read your Grace's letter of the 29th of this month, N.S. to her Majesty, who was extremely surpris'd and troubled at the unaccountable proceeding of the King of Prussia. The Queen hopes, as your Grace does, that this will end in a bullying air, and have no farther evil consequence; but, however, our situation is very melancholy, when, upon every

trifling occasion, threats of such consequence are to be used.

As to the hopes which the enemy may conceive from hence, I do not see what we are to fear, unless the Prussians should actually march away. The expectation of this may, perhaps, give them spirit enough to attempt what may probably be as fatal to them as the battle of Ramillies was; to venture which, the conduct of the Court of Berlin at the time was no small inducement to them*.

I have seen intelligence from France, which seems to say that the French detach from Germany to Dauphiné, as well as from Flanders to the Rhine. In this case, the measure of Prince Eugene's leaving your Grace† is still more unreasonable; and we are simple enough here to think, that he consults at present much more his private interest, as a good courtier to his new master, than that of the common cause.

The Duke of Shrewsbury has been, for some time, confined by an intermitting

* The Prussian troops had no share in the battle of Ramillies.

† He had received orders to march with the Imperial and Palatine troops to the Upper Rhine.

fever,

fever, but is now in a fair way of being soon abroad.

The Queen is this evening gone to Windsor. She has carried extraordinary good health with her, which the air of that place, and the exercise she proposes to use, will, I hope, increase and confirm.

I am, &c.

To the Earl of Orrery.

MY LORD,

June 26th, 1711.

A FORMER letter of mine, which you must have received before now, has, I suppose, made you easy as to your title; the promotion of Peers will very soon be made, and you will be of the number. I take it for granted that some person here has your directions about the title, the preamble to your patent, and the care of soliciting it through the several offices.

Our friend, Tom Harley, is my Lord Treasurer's secretary, and I will speak to him about the quarter's salary, and which may very well slip out of the Treasurer's

mind, who has so many and such various objects to be intent upon.

I cannot imagine why the 1800*l.* is not stopped; the Queen's orders can neither be more clear nor more positive than they have been already; and, in plain terms, Mr. Granville may put an end to the delay whenever he pleases.

As to the person whom you proposed to be sent to France, I think his demand very extravagant, unless he could show a prospect of giving some very considerable advices, not of reports and guesses, but from the officers of business in France. If he will agree to go upon lower terms, with a promise of having his demands made good to him when his services shall appear to deserve them, I will employ him; and your Lordship may please to settle with him the method of conveying his letters, and of paying him his money.

The desertion from our army is surprising, and must, I believe, be attributed to the long campaign and cruel sieges which we have had.

I heartily wish your Lordship entirely recovered from your fever, and in con-
dition

dition to bear the fatigues of business and of pleasure.

No man living loves you better than

Your, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

June 26th, 1711.

THIS morning, at the Committee of Council, my Lord Treasurer gave me your letter of the 30th of this month, N.S. for which I am to return you my hearty thanks.

I am glad to hear that his Prussian Majesty was pleased to put on so much good humour; but the declaration made by the Prince of Anhalt* to the Duke of Marlborough, and to the Deputies of the States, is not of a piece with it. In short, we have, by several false measures, brought ourselves to that pass, that a King, who is hardly a freeholder, treats as *de haut en bas*. We must get out, my good friend, as well as we can; and not only the present generation of Britons, but future ages, will, I dare say,

* Commander in chief of the Prussian troops.

learn by our example not to plunge themselves too deep in a war of the continent. The Dutch are in the right to be fond of their barrier, they see what a foundation of power that treaty lays for them, and I will assure you that we see it too. But they must not be alarmed, as I believe I told you in a former letter, if we think a little of Britain, which surely has had some merit in the course of this war, whilst they think so much of Holland.

I hope my Lord Raby will be returned out of Yorkshire, and ready to go over, in a fortnight, after which you must keep your word with us, and let us see you here. The better informed you come of the sentiments of Holland, the better service you will be able to do both them and us.

I am glad to find that whatever guesses curious people may make, there yet appears no more light into the secret of Mr. Hill's expedition. As that whole design was formed by me, and the management of it singly carried on by me, you will easily imagine that I have a sort of paternal concern for the success of it. The Dutch have no reason to argue, from the early care which was
taken

taken to send that squadron abroad, that Sir James Wishart did not proceed candidly with them, when he proposed an adventure to the South-Sea. Of this truth you will be ere long convinced. I am, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

July the 5th, 1711.

I HUMBLY presume to acquaint your Majesty, that a Scotch vessel is arrived at Greenock, from New England; who met, about the 10th of June, a great fleet of ships, standing with a fair wind into the coasts of North America. This could be no other than the squadron commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker, who, according to this account, must have had a prosperous voyage, and be about this time, with Brigadier Hill, putting your Majesty's commands in execution. I am, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

July the 10th, 1711.

AFTER a tedious delay, we received several posts at last together from Holland, and by them I had your Grace's private letters of the 2d and 9th of this month, N.S. for which I return you my most humble thanks.

The Muscovites are, without dispute, in greater forwardness than the Turks, and the King of Sweden in little condition to support that *fierté* which he put on when he protested against the act of neutrality; since this very act may, for ought I know, prove the only security of Pomerania, and the troops under Craßau, now, as it did the last year*.

But, my Lord, our misfortune is, that we can support neither side in the manner they desire, without manifest prejudice to the common interest, and by a trimming neutrality we have contrived to disoblige both. Give me leave, on this occasion, to say, that I fear the event of the northern commo-

* After the King of Sweden's defeat at Pultowa, the small remains of his army assembled and formed under General Craßau.

tions will show that we were in the right, who thought last year that the King of Sweden should either have been forced to submit to the terms of the neutrality, however partial they are to his enemies, or have been, by a vigorous measure, put out of condition to annoy or even alarm us. We might, at that time, have tied the northern confederates down to whatever conditions we pleased, and have remained masters of both, whereas these are likely to impose the law upon us now, as the King of Sweden would infallibly do, was he in condition to execute the design he has formed. But these matters have been, by her Majesty, left to the management of the States; and I only wish that the Queen's part in these engagements was as little as it has been in the direction.

Your Grace can best judge of the enemy's intentions, as you can best prevent them. In general, they seem to me to have in view to risk as little as possible, to save and nurse up their troops, and by little actions of surprise to flush the soldiers, and to raise a spirit which so many repeated defeats have cowed.

Montgatz being surrendered, I am at a loss to imagine what excuse the Court of Vienna

Vienna will find for making no use of any part of the troops which they have in Hungary. Some, I am confident, their ingenuity will suggest to them.

We are in daily expectation to hear from Mr. Whitworth upon this head, who is ordered to proceed directly from Vienna to the Czar's court, where I believe his presence must be necessary; and the more so, since Balhure* is there very busy, and very well received.

The Duke of Queensberry died on Friday last, and her Majesty has not thought fit to continue a third Secretary, so that the provinces return to the former partition, except in the case of the Spanish Netherlands, which remain under my care. I am, &c.

To Mr. Whitworth.

SIR,

July 12, 1711.

I AM to thank you for the two private letters, which I received from you with the public dispatches on Sunday last; one of the

* The French Envoy to the Czar.

23d of June, from Toplitz; the other, of the 1st of July, from Dresden.

You will be informed by the office-news, that the Duke of Queensberry is dead; and I have the satisfaction to tell you, that you will not remove out of my province, though you are to remove out of the Empire. Her Majesty has determined to sink the employment of third Secretary; and the old division of business is renewed, except as to the Spanish Netherlands, which are to continue under my care. Indeed, these countries belong at present so much to Holland, and so little to Spain, that there would be some confusion occasioned by throwing them into the southern department. The load was before great enough for shoulders as weak as mine, it is now not a little increased. If I stagger under it, I will, however, hope not to sink; and the pleasure of continuing to correspond with you, will, upon my word, be one great article in my support.

The affairs of the north are hastening to that point of confusion and danger which I have been expecting long; and which, in my opinion, is the natural, necessary consequence of all the measures taken, from

the treaty of Alt Ranstadt * to this hour, by Britain and Holland. The guaranty of that treaty was, in the most solemn manner, and in the Queen's name, promised. King Stanislaus was, after an aukward manner, acknowledged; and our next step was, to encourage Augustus to violate this very treaty, and, by his return into Poland, to revive the troubles of the North, and our own difficulties. An act of neutrality is thought necessary to preserve the peace of the Empire; and in forming this act, we go out of Germany, *de gaité de cœur*, to cover Poland on one side and Jutland on the other, which we were in no sort under an engagement to defend; whilst we neglect to provide for the security of the Swedish territories, which, by the treaty of Travendhal, we were under very strong obligations to do. The King of Sweden receives some benefit by this act, but declines to submit to it first, and openly protests against it next. We take no measures for obliging him to consent to the

* By this treaty, Augustus, Elector of Saxony, surrendered the kingdom of Poland to King Stanislaus. Augustus was supported in his pretensions by the Czar, Stanislaus by the King of Sweden, who being defeated at Pultowa, the crown of Poland was again claimed by Augustus.

treaty, or for putting him out of condition to break it; and by the spring of the year are frightened at his declarations, and at the apparent danger from Craßau's army on one side, as well as from his irruption with Turks and Tartars on the other. This fear makes us go *bride en main* in the execution of the act of neutrality; and by that time we have sufficiently disoblged the Czar, the King of Denmark, and King Augustus, we find that there is more danger of having the neutrality broke by them than by him. In short, the power of England is contemned, and breach of faith objected to us by each side in its turn; and we, who ought to hold the balance, and give the law, are every day bullied by our pensioners. By such conduct we have, with great dexterity and pains, departed from the ancient and true character of Britain in many instances, and have rendered the nation little, whilst the multitude imagine that we make a glorious figure. But these reflections will do little good: and you and I, and every one who serves the Queen, must apply ourselves to get out of the present labyrinth, with as few scratches as we can.

On the views which the King of Poland

land* may have of marrying his son to an Archduchess, let me observe to you, among many other objections, this, that by the treaty of 1703, made with the Duke of Savoy, it is expressly stipulated in that article, which revives and confirms the will of Philip the Fourth, that no third person shall be superinduced to the Spanish succession after the House of Austria and before that of Savoy.

You see at once what jealousy his Royal Highness would therefore with reason conceive, if the daughter of the late Emperor was to marry any Prince besides his son, as others might with equal reason conceive, if she should marry his son, until some security was given that the title to the Spanish dominions, and that to the Hereditary Countries, should not, at any time hereafter, unite by this match in the family of Savoy.

You was extremely in the right to communicate the letter which you received from Mr. Ashton; but I think the tale too romantic to deserve much attention. Her Majesty desires, if you hear any more of him, that you would inform me of it; but

* Augustus.

it is not likely you will, in the country you are now going to.

My Lord Peterborough will, in a few days, be declared to go into Germany, and particularly to Frankfort.

You will give me leave to recommend Mr. Scott to you, who is appointed Envoy to King Augustus, as a man whose correspondence you will, I believe, find satisfaction in.

By this time, I fear, you have found all your endeavours at the court of Vienna fruitless. In short, there is no possibility of raising such a heap of dulness to any pitch of glory and power. I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

July 12th, 1711.

ON Sunday we had the satisfaction of receiving four posts from your side; they brought me your letters of the 3d, 7th, 10th, and 14th instant, N.S. and yesterday came to my hands that of the 17th.

I wonder that Monsieur de Mellaredé's journey should give birth to any new specu-

lations, since, of all the persons in Europe, the Duke of Savoy is most deeply and nearly concerned in the turn of affairs occasioned by the Emperor's death, and in the terms which are to be capitulated for with his successor.

Upon this occasion, it may not be amiss to say something to you concerning our views with regard to this Prince: and you may insinuate the same to the Pensionary Heinsius. I do this the rather, because the Dutch ministers, according to what I have observed, reason very differently from those of the Queen in this instance; and one part of my Lord Raby's instructions, will be to bring them over to our sentiments. We think then, that it is the interest of Britain and Holland, not only to support the Duke of Savoy, but even to aggrandize him, as far as we can do it consistently with justice, and with the preservation of the present confederacy against France. The considerations, on which this opinion is grounded, are too long to be deduced in a letter, and are so obvious, that I dare say they do not escape you. This principle being established, we think ought to be pursued at this time very
affiduously;

affiduouſly; and therefore, when the Marquis de Bourg ſounded the Queen's inclination towards the marriage which his Royal Highneſs intends to propoſe between the eldeſt daughter of the Emperor Joſeph and the Prince of Piedmont, her Maſteſty made no ſcruple to promiſe that ſhe will uſe her beſt endeavours to ſupport the Duke of Savoy in this pretenſion, and give orders to her miniſters accordingly at the courts of Vienna and Barcelona. You may eaſily believe, that the objection of carrying, by this match, a title to the hereditary countries in Germany into the Houſe of Savoy, was not omitted; but the Marquis de Bourg immediately removed it, by ſaying, that his maſter was too reaſonable to reſuſe coming up to any conditions, which might be judged neceſſary to obviate that apprehenſion.

My Lord Raby, or rather Strafford, for I think his patent is paſſed, will open the Queen's mind very fully to the Penſionary upon this head; but as I ſaid before, it will not be improper to apprize Monſieur Heiniſius, in ſome meaſure beforehand, of what paſſed between the Queen's miniſters and the Marquis du Bourg.

I am surpris'd to hear that the Dutch make any complaint, concerning our conduct towards them, in what Sir James Wishart was sent to negotiate, since certainly we have as much to reproach them with upon that subject, as one ally can well give another. Sir James Wishart propos'd in general an enterprize to the South Sea; and if they would have engag'd to join with the Queen, he was ready, as he told them, to enter into particulars, and to concert the measures to be taken. This was received coldly, and Sir James was only desir'd to open to them all we intended, without knowing whether they would concur in our designs, or traverse them. Do us justice upon this head, you know enough of the matter.

The affairs of the north are hastening to that point of confusion, where we have long expected them; I am unwilling to look back, and to rip up all the instances of misconduct which made an act of neutrality first necessary, which afterwards contriv'd that it should be partial, and which have now rendered it useless. We must get out of this distress in the best manner we can; but give me leave to make this reflection, and make

it to the Pensionary, if you please: This northern war was alive; and the consequences which, sooner or later, from one side or other, it must have on our war against France, were easily to be foreseen, at the time when peace offered itself, and was rejected in Holland *. My Lord Raby came over charged with many general and agreeable assurances from the States; but I cannot say that he was so particularly informed of the desires and views of the three Pensionaries, with whom he had his last conference, as we could have wished. He will return to you as well instructed as we can make him, on every article of the general system of public affairs, and the States will be convinced that nothing shall be wanting on our parts, to render the union of the two nations indissoluble, and to continue them in a condition of being the bulwarks of the Protestant religion, and of the common liberty. Let this suffice in answer to that part of yours of the 7th, where you seem to suspect that we have bad impressions of Holland. Depend upon it, and say it freely, that we must have a little more regard to

* In 1709.

Britain, than was paid by our predecessors in the ministry, but that we will be as good friends to the Dutch as ever we were; and indeed self-preservation requires no less on both sides.

As to the Flanders affairs, I will tell you very freely my thoughts, and I have writ the same to the Duke of Marlborough. The moment we determined to detach from our army, when the enemy detached from theirs, I looked upon the scheme of war to be altered, and that air of superiority to be given up, which we have so long maintained. The enemy saved their men last year, whilst we threw our's prodigally away; they keep themselves quiet and safe now, and by little actions of surprize, they endeavour, little by little, to restore to their soldiers that spirit which repeated disgraces had taken from them. Is it not probable that, towards the end of the year, they may think themselves ripe for some attempt, and do not the preparations making on their frontier point that way?

I go to-morrow morning to assist at a committee of council, at London; if any

thing farther occurs to me, I will add to this letter there.

July 13.

I have nothing to add to you, though I assisted this morning at a Committee of Council. Would you not spare a few ships to join with ours in the Baltic, if such an expedition should appear necessary?

I am, &c.

I thank you for the care of my trees. When you come over, let us know what general plan would please in Holland, to subsist between us and them, in time of peace.

To the Earl of Orrery.

MY LORD,

July 20, 1711.

YOU will, I flatter myself, believe that I have no affectation about me, when I protest to you, that I have been, and that I still continue in so constant a hurry of intricate, various, and important business, that you ought to excuse me if I am not punctual in answering your private letters.

We are come now to the point of time

T 4

when

when we must reap, in their full maturity of mischief, the fruits of all those seeds which have been scattered by the false politics of those who went before us. There is hardly any case applicable to the greatest cully of the town, which is not true of this unhappy country. Those on whom our fortune has been squandered, owe us no obligation; as our necessities increase, the terms of assistance are raised upon us. That which has been gained at our expence turns to the account of others. We have no chance of advantage, and we are undone if we fail, &c. How to get out of this distress, God knows. This I know, that we ought to watch for the first opportunity, and to seize it. But no more upon so melancholy a subject.

The warrant for your title is dispatched, and should have been so sooner could I have taken upon me either to chuse it, or to prepare your preamble.

As to the club, which I spoke to you of, I believe you will think it very well chose, and you may be sure that you will be one of the first. There are about ten or twelve places filled, the remainder, to one and
twenty,

twenty, lie open for some of our friends who are abroad, and for such others as we shall in the winter, in full chapter, elect.

Some part of our home management I cannot account for, and the rest it is impossible to explain by letter. Lord Nottingham is disagreeable personally to the Queen *; and besides, his relations are so well provided for, that it is thought he ought to be contented. As to the promotion of the person you mention to Treasurer of the Navy, I can only say that he has been steady and useful in the last session, when several were very whimsical, and Sir Thomas Hanmer in a very eminent manner †, who has been, however, invited into the service in a handsome manner, but declined it.

I was got thus far in a letter which I designed should have been full in answer to

* Her majesty used to attend the debates in the Lords; and upon one of these occasions, the Earl of Nottingham moved, that the Electoral Prince of Hanover should be invited to reside in England. This gave offence to the Queen.

† The most violent enemies to the late ministry, and the Whigs, were the members of the October Club, which consisted of more than a hundred members of parliament; Sir Thomas Hanmer was one: they wished for severe examples to be made of the Whigs, and the ministry being inclined to gentler measures, these gentlemen for some time showed a disinclination to support the minister.

those I have received from you, but a Dutch post arrives this moment ; and it being late in the day, I am obliged to refer many particulars to another opportunity.

I am, &c.

A Monsieur le Marquis du Burg.

MONSIEUR,

Ce 24me Juillet, 1711.

IL me doit être très agréable d'entrer dans un commerce de lettres avec vous, puisque j'ai pour votre personne toute l'estime & pour le succès de vos négociations tout le zèle qu'il soit possible d'avoir.

J'avois écrit à un ami, selon ma promesse ; peut-être n'avoit-il pas eu l'occasion d'entretenir le Pensionnaire sur le contenu de ma lettre, ou peut-être ce ministre ne l'a-t-il pas voulu avouer, pour pouvoir d'autant mieux éviter d'entrer en matière avec vous.

Le Comte de Maffei ne manquera pas de vous rendre un compte exacte de ce qui s'est passé à deux conférences, qu'il a eu avec les Seigneurs du Conseil, depuis peu de jours.

Le Comte d'Orrery, pour ne pas perdre
du

du tems, a ordre de parler au Pensionnaire, non-seulement sur le mariage, mais aussi sur les intérêts de Son Altesse Royale dans les deux cas de compatibilité & d'incompatibilité.

Il ne manquera pas de représenter les sentimens de la Reine, & de presser la concurrence des Hollandois, d'une telle manière que nous saurons, par la réponse, sur quoi nous pouvons compter de la part de Messieurs les Etats dans cette affaire.

Je ne m'étonne pas de la jalousie ouverte que vous avez observé dans le Pensionnaire, sur les bruits qui courent touchant la paix, ni de celle que le Comte de Sinzendorf a montré avec moins de retenu. Mais je dois vous rendre beaucoup de grâces de la sage & véritable réponse qu'il vous a plu faire à l'un & à l'autre. Si nous n'avons pas soutenu la guerre en habiles politiques, au moins l'avons-nous fait en gens d'honneur & de cœur, & ce ne sera pas en faisant la paix que nous perdrons cette réputation.

Monsieur Whitworth n'a pu obtenir un seul homme pour renforcer l'armée de Son Altesse Royale ; sa commission, pourtant, selon moi, ne peut pas être regardée comme infructueuse.

infructueuse*. Je vous supplie de croire que je suis rempli de respect et d'amitié pour vous, et que je serai toute ma vie, Monsieur,
 Votre, &c.

A Monsieur le Prince Kurakin.

MONSIEUR,

Ce 24^{me} Juillet, 1711.

LA lettre que vous avez écrit à Monsieur de Duc de Queensberry étant arrivée après sa mort ; elle m'a été remise. Comme les affaires du Nord vont dorénavant passer par mes mains, j'aurois été ravi d'avoir eu à négocier avec un aussi habile ministre & un aussi galant homme que vous l'êtes. Quoique nous ayons le malheur de vous perdre, je vous supplie d'être persuadé pourtant, que vos ordres seront toujours bien-venus auprès de moi, & que je m'employerai avec plaisir dans toutes les occasions qui peuvent s'offrir, pour entretenir la bonne correspondance des deux nations & pour montrer l'estime que j'ai pour votre personne.

* And the refusal was accordingly made use of against the Imperial court at the subsequent treaty of peace ; the Emperor had always declared that the troubles in Hungary prevented his completing his contingent, and when those troubles ceased, he still refused.

Celle-ci

Celle-ci est accompagnée d'une lettre de la Reine, en réponse à celle qu'elle reçut de sa Majesté Czarienne. La maladie de feu Monsieur le Duc de Queensberry, sa mort, & quelque désordre qui est inévitable dans des pareilles occasions, ont été causes que vous ne l'avez reçu plutôt, selon la promesse qui vous avoit été faite.

Je suis, &c.

To Mr. Boyle.

SIR,

July 25th, 1711.

THE Queen is very desirous to have some letters from Monsieur Plessen* to the Duke of Queensberry, which relate to her private affairs in Denmark, and particularly one which came with the treaty not long sent over. The gentlemen who served in that office can give me no account of them, farther than that they believe them to be among his Grace's papers.

Her Majesty has therefore commanded me to desire that you would take the trouble

* Plessen had been Privy Purse and Master of the Wardrobe to Prince George of Denmark.

of searching for these letters, and of transmitting them to,

Sir, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

July the 29th, 1711.

THE Earl of Stair has given me your Grace's letter of the 26th of this month, N.S. for which I return you my most humble thanks. On Monday morning, before my return from Windsor, I had the honour to meet his Lordship, with my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Chamberlain, at the lodgings of the latter; your Grace's present situation, and the views which you have for pushing the war on that side, were opened. When we attend the Queen next, I suppose her Majesty will come to a resolution.

I have since waited on my Lord Stair in town, and have spoke with all the openness and sincerity imaginable to him, as I make no doubt but he does me the justice to inform your Grace.

I am, &c.

De

*De Monsieur le Marquis de Torcy *.*

MONSIEUR,

A Fontainbleau, le 3me Août, 1711.

J'AI vu avec beaucoup de plaisir Monsieur Prior† revenir ici après un intervalle de plusieurs années, & j'aurois bien souhaité qu'il eût plus de liberté d'employer les talens qu'il a, & dont je suis persuadé qu'il auroit fait un bon usage. J'espère, Monsieur, que Monsieur Mesnager, qu'il mène avec lui, suppléera à ce qu'il n'a pu faire; & je vous supplie de croire qu'on ne peut desirer plus véritablement que je fais, les occasions de vous marquer que

Je suis, très-parfaitement, &c.

To Mr. Harrison.

SIR,

July 27, 1711.

I AM sorry that you have any occasion to entertain melancholy thoughts‡. My

* Secretary of State to Louis XIV, and the son of the great Colbert.

† Prior had been many years a Commissioner of Trade, and was Secretary to the Embassy for the peace of Ryswick, and when the Earls of Portland and Jersey were ambassadors at the court of Versailles.

‡ Harrison was displeased at Mr. Watkins being appointed Secretary to the Embassy, which he erroneously considered as a supercession.

friendship

friendship you could have no doubt concerning, since I have done the little in my power* to mend your fortune, and to put you in a way of improving it.

I must desire you to make my compliments to Monsieur d'Hervart, and to excuse my not answering his letter by this post. I have been all day without eating, and am now so tired that he must forgive the omission; in the mean time, it may not be amiss to let him know that the Pensionary has expressed some uneasiness, as if he thought that we, through his channel, carried on a correspondence with France.

You will enjoin Monsieur d'Hervart, not to appear to have had any such advertisement, but let him have the more care of his letters, and act accordingly. I have neither time nor strength to add any more, but the assurances of my being, &c.

* Bolingbroke had little in his power; for Oxford engrossed the patronage to himself; and the former, with some difficulty, procured a small place in the West-Indies, for Mr. Hare, his Under-secretary; which appointment was to be only during pleasure.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

July 31st, 1711.

WHAT I have writ in my other letter will not suffice to express that surprise, and that pleasure which Brigadier Sutton's arrival, and the news he brought, gave me*.

The hardest battles you have fought, and the greatest victories you have won, cannot afford more honourable testimonies of your Grace's superior capacity, and of your indefatigable zeal for the public service, than your late success. For my own share, I have the joy which every honest man must feel when the common enemy receives a blow; and I have the additional satisfaction of a faithful friend in thinking that it was your Grace who gave it.

My Lord Treasurer tells me, that he writes to your Grace on the project proposed by the Earl of Stair; and, therefore, I need say nothing to you upon that head. What thoughts the strength which he is able to

* The getting within the formidable lines of the Marechal de Villars, between the Scarpe and the Canche, which was followed by the siege and surrender of Bouchain.

collect may put into the Marechal de Villars, or what orders he may have from his court, I cannot tell; but I hope, and I make no doubt, that your Grace will support what you have so gloriously begun; and give me leave to add, that for many reasons, your actions will have, at this point of time, a very uncommon lustre. I most ardently desire that uninterrupted prosperity may attend you, and that you may conclude this campaign to your entire satisfaction, in every respect, abroad and at home. I am, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

August 2d, 1711.

MR. PANTON coming over to solicit his promotion, I took this opportunity of moving her Majesty, that she would graciously please to allow the three commissions of Brigadiers to issue, which were signed so long ago for your Grace's army. I have obtained the Queen's leave to give them out, and Mr. Panton carries over the commission to Mr. Preston, and that for Mr. Napier, as well as his own. The Queen desires your
Grace

Grace will please to let such officers as may think themselves aggrieved by this promotion, know, that her service suffering for want of these brigadiers in Flanders, she has given them their rank, and that the pretensions of others shall be considered whenever it may be found necessary to make another promotion. I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

August 3d, 1711.

I HAVE now before me your letters of the 28th and 31st of July, and that of the 4th of August, N.S. which I think are all at present that I am indebted to you for.

The proceeding of the King of Sweden is in every part unaccountable. The pretence he has set up to intercept the trade of Britain and Holland to Riga, and such other places as during the course of the present war have been taken from him by the Muscovite, is groundless and intolerable. We conclude that you will not bear such treatment in the Baltic; on our side, it is certain, the Queen will defend her subjects *coûte qu'il*

coûte; and I have told the Swedish minister so already, by her Majesty's order. You will oblige me if you please to advise with your ministers and merchants in this affair, and to inform me of their opinions.

I dare say my Lord Ambassador Strafford will not be surprized or shocked that Amsterdam should trust their Pensionary, or Holland any Dutchman sooner than him, with secrets of the nature mentioned in yours, wherein the settlement of their trade and the future welfare of their republic so much depend. But I must own to you, it would be matter of very great satisfaction here, one way or other, to be better apprized than we are of the sentiments of the States, both in relation to their own interest and to ours, as well as to the plan of a treaty which may subsist in time of peace between the two nations. Europe can settle on no bottom so secure and so stable, but that the maritime powers must remain united, or the whole must be in danger. This is our sense in Britain, and you may assure the ministers that we will not only come in readily, but even affectionately to the strictest terms of union. There are
indeed

indeed some few seeds of dissention imprudently scattered, but frankness on each side, and a good disposition to one another, will stifle them, and prevent their bearing any fruit.

The news you heard of the success which Mr. Littleton's squadron in the West-Indies met with, is very true*. I am heartily sorry that a ship you was concerned in should be taken. But in the loss it is some degree of consolation to hear that the captain and crew behaved themselves so well. As to the conduct of our sea-officers, sure I am, you shall never find me an advocate for them: we have been these many years on the land-war so very intent, that the naval interest has been almost entirely disregarded. Add to this, that our factions have influenced all rewards and punishments so far, that merit has met with little encouragement, and demerit with as little censure: I am hopeful that we shall at last see our error, and that the sea will, for the future, have a greater share of our attention applied to it.

* Littleton took a Spanish galleon and a ship of twenty-six guns in the West-Indies.

The expedition of the British ships was gallantly undertaken, and has been prosperously finished. I know nothing of this kind, since Drake and Cavendish, performed by our nation.

The East-India Company, upon one frivolous pretence or other, will endeavour to molest the owners, but the Queen protects them, and will, I hope, in some very extraordinary manner immortalize the officers and the service.

The Pensionary's cautions on the subject of Savoy are very becoming his prudence; but surely it is time to think seriously of that matter, and to move some secret engines, if it may be dangerous to act openly.

The blame which you lay on Prince Eugene, for marching to the Rhine, is extremely just; you know my opinion by my former letters, and what the Duke of Marlborough has lately done, sets the matter in still a stronger light.

The Prince of Savoy * justified his resolution by pretending peremptory orders from Vienna, which allowed him no discretionary power; but I must observe to you, that when

* Meaning Prince Eugene.

the Dutch ministers and Mr. Whitworth pressed to have that General ordered to continue in the Netherlands, the answer of the Empress Regent was, that no positive order could be sent to him, but that he must be left to act according to occurrences in so uncertain a situation.

I suppose you are informed of Mr. Whitworth's commission to Vienna, and the success of it. He was sent by the Queen to that Court to represent once more the necessity of detaching from Hungary; the reason which Britain and Holland have to insist on this effort; and in plain terms to let them know, that the Queen would look on a refusal in this case, as an absolute renunciation of their interest in the war. The Imperial ministers thought themselves extremely cunning in catching hold of the difference between Mr. Whitworth and Monsieur Bruyninx*; the first asking the detachment for Italy, the latter desiring it for the Upper Rhine; but they were defeated in this expedient by our Minister's agreeing to have the detachment move towards Bavaria, and assuring them that there would be no dispute

* Envoy of the States-general to the Court of Vienna.

between the Queen and the States about the application of it afterwards. Mr. Whitworth was impowered to have gone as far as 40,000*l.* sterling, if less could not have obtained the 8000 men desired; and if money would have procured them, he told the German ministers that he had directions to give them very large assistances towards this work; and that he would open the particulars to them, if they would engage for the immediate march of the troops. But there was no need of his going farther, since they absolutely refused, not on the score of money only, but on account of their apprehensions from the Muscovites, &c. After this, my friend, what shall we say? Do we want zeal? Do the Austrians want to complete their full measure of provocation?

I look on the progress which the Duke of Marlborough has lately made, to be really honourable to him, and mortifying to the enemy.

The event cannot be ascribed to superior numbers, or to any accident. It is owing to genius and to conduct. The present situation of the army seems to promise decisive actions. May the arms of the allies have
good

good success; and may we live once to behold victory followed by peace; without the latter, the former is of no great advantage.

We are desirous to hasten the departure of the Earl of Strafford, and yet we choose rather to send him a little later, and better instructed, than to dispatch him sooner and worse informed.

The Earl of Peterborough is ordered back to Germany, he has directions to open himself to the Pensionary as he passes through Holland, and to act in concert with the Count de Rechteren*. I am, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

August 7th, 1711.

I HAVE yours of the 7th and 12th of August, N.S. and return you my thanks for the present which you make me, and which I hope not to touch till I do it in your company.

The account which you have taken the

* Deputy of the province of Overijssel to the States-General.

trouble

trouble to send me of the sense which the Pensionary expressed concerning my Lord Marlborough's declining a battle, shall be kept inviolably secret; but the fact is so publicly talked of, that I have made no scruple to speak on the subject, even in my letter to Mr. Cadogan; and to ask him what our situation was, and what the enemy's, at the time the Deputies* would have fought, and the Generals would not? My spirit is indeed not damped by this *contretems*, if such it was. I only apprehend, that before the siege of Bouchain is over, we may be obliged to fight at greater disadvantage than we might have done in the course of the late event †.

The Pensionary thinks it a very dangerous measure to give into the proposition of a marriage between the Prince of Piedmont and the Archduchess, eldest daughter of

* The Dutch, during the whole of the war, whether from jealousy of their allies, or distrust of their generals, sent deputies to attend the army, and assist in councils of war.

† Marechal Villars, after the allied army had penetrated within his lines, endeavoured to retrieve his mistake, and advanced his army as if he intended to attack the Duke, while, in fact, he was sending a strong force towards Cambray. The deputies at that period would have hazarded a battle, but as the siege of Bouchain had been previously voted in a council of war, the Duke resisted the advice of the deputies.

Joseph;

Joseph; and judges that the maritime powers lie under no necessity of coming to a declaration upon this head. The Pensionary's opinion is indeed of that weight here, that upon all occasions it influences our councils, in many it guides them. However, I must tell you, that in the present case, we can hardly think him in earnest. I will not enter into the detail of all which is to be said, but will confine myself to this minister's arguments, as I find them laid down in your letter of the 12th.

It will be, he says, disagreeable to the Austrian family, whom we ought not to disoblige, nor give jealousy to, especially at this time, when they have underhand endeavours for themselves with the enemy. Why will it be disagreeable to them, when Europe does not afford their Princess another more suitable match; when, in the case of compatibility of the Spanish dominions and the empire, nothing else can cure the Duke of Savoy of his fears, and obviate his unanswerable objections; and when in case of the incompatibility, the remote and the immediate titles to Spain will by these means, and can by no other, be united? We look on the
House

House of Austria, whatever you do in Holland, as a party who sues for a great estate in *formâ pauperis*; and since they have been at no part of the expence of the law-suit, it would be very impertinent if they should cavil with us on the terms of a composition, or on the measures of carrying it on. But the House of Austria will not make a peace with France. That is to say, the bed-rid man whom I carry upon my back, will trip up my heels. I own to you I cannot reply gravely to that argument. I am sure the Pensionary would think worse of me, than I desire he should, if I did. The second objection is, that the Portugal Ambassador has declared his master will break with us, if we set up any pretension in the Savoy family to the crown of Spain *. We are not for setting up any new pretension, we are only for confirming an old one, grounded on the will of Philip the IVth †, and on the treaty made by the Emperor Leopold with

* Peter II, King of Portugal, was a pretender to the crown of Spain; but his minister who proposed it in the Spanish Council, was disgraced and expelled.

† Philip died in 1665; by his will he left his dominions to his son Charles II, and to his children; failing them, to the Empress Margaret, his youngest daughter, expecting the renunciation of his eldest daughter, the Queen of France.

the Duke of Savoy, to which Britain and Holland are guarantees *. Has his Majesty of Portugal any better title to Badajos †, and to other places belonging to Spain, which he expects in consideration of the great service he has rendered the common cause, than his Royal Highness has to a security that no third person shall be superinduced to the Spanish succession, after the Austrian family, before him? Besides, let it be considered that we have never had any hold on the court of Lisbon, but by their fears, and that hold will subsist as long as Britain and Holland are masters of the sea, which I hope in God will be as long as the world endures.

Objection the third. The French King has proposed to get King Augustus, or the Electoral Prince, declared King of the Romans, and therefore we ought to discourage any other pretenders to Spain or the Empire, besides King Charles. In the first place, the overture of the marriage of the Prince of

* This relates to the cession of Exilles, and other places adjacent to the dominions of the Duke of Savoy in Italy.

† To induce Peter II, King of Portugal, to renounce his alliance with France, and to acknowledge Charles, the Archduke, as King of Spain, the Imperial Council agreed to give Badajos and part of Estramadura to Peter. This treaty was agreed to in 1703, but never executed.

Piedmont, has no tendency to the succession of the Empire; and, therefore, thus far the reason given does only serve to refute what was never advanced; and in the next place, the not securing Savoy's title to Spain might be a reasonable objection at Turin; but the securing it can be no objection at Dresden. But it is further urged, that the renunciation of any title to the Hereditary countries in Germany, proffered by his Royal Highness, in case the marriage takes effect, ought not to be regarded; and the example of France is produced, who, by breach of faith in the like instance, gave ground to the present war.

I will not go back to what passed between that great man Jean de Wit, and Monsieur d'Estrades*; I will not go about to show how the Partition-treaty begot the will of Charles II^d†; and how that will
made

* De Wit was Pensionary of Amsterdam, d'Estrades Ambassador from France at the Hague. The latter entered into a negociation with the Dutch ministers to guarantee Louis XIV, his succession to the crown of Spain; but De Wit rejected the proposal.

† Charles II, King of Spain, was in a declining state of health, and the right of succession to his crown was equal in the persons of the King of France, and of the Emperor of Germany: to prevent a war, which would inevitably ensue if that crown were contested, England, France, and the
States-general

made the treachery of France significant *. I will content myself to say, that no man ought to reason from what an independent and superior power, like that of France, has done, to what a dependant and precarious power, like that of Savoy, may do.

It is with great pleasure we find that the jealousy in Holland decreases concerning our views in trade. Assure the Pensionary, and whom else you think fit, that we are determined to stand and fall by them; that we look on the indissoluble union of the two nations as the real security of both, and of all Europe. But, in plain terms, they must leave the prosecution of the interest of Britain to the Queen.

They expect in Holland, that the ministers of Britain should speak plainly to them, and that her Majesty should propose!

States-general entered into a treaty in 1700, by which these powers parcelled out the dominions of Spain. France was to have Naples, Sicily, and other dependencies on the coast of Tuscany, the duchies of Lorrain and Bar, in exchange for that of Milan, which was to be given to the Duke of Lorrain. Spain and the Indies were to go to the Archduke Charles. This treaty was to be secret; but was soon known at Madrid, where in the council of state the treaty was rejected; and Charles's right to dispose of his dominions was acknowledged. Accordingly, by will, he gave his dominions entire to the Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin of France.

* France, in this conjuncture, played a deep game, and was the secret director of the councils of Madrid.

Whatever occurs to us, concerning the common interest, will always be nakedly offered to the consideration of the States; their opinion taken therein, and the measures concerted with their ministers. Whatever relates to the private interest of Britain, as far as the concurrence of the Dutch is necessary or reasonable, will also, without any reserve, be communicated; and whenever Holland has any national advantage to pursue, which this island may one way or other be interested in, we hope they will with the same freedom communicate with us; and give us the opportunity of showing, how much more prevalent, the preservation of the union and affection of the two nations is, in our minds than any other consideration.

I think the answer which you received about joining the Queen's ships and those of the States in the Baltic very cold. Pray take an opportunity of enquiring whether, if the French have taken possession of Brazil, they would concert measures with the Queen for driving them out again.

You may take my word, when I assure you, that Monsieur d'Hervart has no confidential

dential from us, nor any authority to speak or act either with Holland, France, or any other nation. He is indeed very well known and esteemed here, and I have lived and talked familiarly with him, but that is all.

I pass over the affairs of the north. We submit in the management of them entirely to the discretion of Holland; and the Queen will readily concur in such expedients as shall be resolved upon by the States; so that when you know their mind, you may be certain as to ours.

Forgive the length and freedom of this letter, I write in a heat to you, and have none of those checks about me, which render a man usually short, cautious, and correct.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

August 7th, 1711.

I HAVE before me your Grace's private letters of the 10th and 14th of this month, N.S. The latter came this morning to my
 VOL. I. X hands;

hands; and, my Lord Dartmouth attending this week at Windsor, I cannot lay it before her Majesty till Sunday; but, in the letter which I am to have the honour to write to the Queen this afternoon, I will not fail to execute your Grace's commands.

My Lord Stair intends to return in a few days. Mr. Sutton will be, I hope, dispatched about the same time; and by one or both of them, your Grace may, I believe, expect the Queen's resolutions concerning the project for the winter-quarters, which the present operations of your Grace's army do certainly render still more desirable.

I am, &c.

To Mr. Cadogan.

SIR,

August 7th, 1711.

I CANNOT omit to congratulate with you on the late success, wherein I am very sensible how great a share you must have had, under the direction of the Duke of Marlborough. No enterprise could be more finely concerted, nor more vigorously executed;

cuted; and at the same time none could be more advantageous to the common cause, or more honourable to the arms of the Queen and her allies. Your present situation seems indeed to be very *alérte*; and I believe my friend, Mr. Cardonnel, is not the only person among you who is under some uneasiness.

For my own part, I depend on the same conduct to finish, which has so happily begun the operations of the year; and as you have outwitted the enemy, I hope you will outfight them too.

Since the opposition of the French, since our misfortunes in Spain, since the want of strength or good-will in some, and a wrong application of force in others, cannot hinder us from penetrating through the firmest barrier by which France, or perhaps any nation, was ever covered, it is to be hoped that peace will at last ensue, which is the last colouring by which victories receive their full perfection of beauty and of value.

Let me desire you, with the freedom of an old acquaintance, to send me an account of the situation of the enemy, at the time when the Deputies and some of the generals

were for attacking, and my Lord Duke was against it. Our letters from Holland are full of reasonings on this subject. I should be glad to be rightly informed, and I will make a right use of my information, I am, Sir, what I always professed myself, with much esteem and truth,

Your's, &c.

*A Monsieur d'Hervart *.*

MONSIEUR,

Ce 8^{me} Août, 1711.

VOUS savez assez bien les affaires que j'ai sur les bras, pour m'excuser si je ne réponds pas à vos lettres avec l'exactitude qu'elles méritent.

Je prends tant de part en tout ce qui vous regarde, que la mort de Monsieur votre fils m'a fort sensiblement touchée. Je ne veux pas vous ennuyer avec mes consolations. Vous êtes trop bon Chrétien, & trop philosophe, pour en avoir besoin.

Les réflexions que vous faites sur les soupçons qui sont entrés dans l'esprit de

* Philibert d'Hervart had been employed by King William as Envoy in Switzerland.

Monsieur

Monsieur le Pensionnaire me paroissent fort justes. On a tâché de sêmer des jalousies, & ici & en Hollande. Il est certain qu'elles ne font pas grande impression chez nous ; & j'espère que les ministres de l'état ne feront pas plus ombrageux que nous le sommes.

La désunion des puissances maritimes ne peut être que funeste à l'une & à l'autre, c'est une vérité incontestable ; de notre côté rien ne manquera pour cultiver cette harmonie entre les deux nations.

L'offre que M. de Torcy a fait de son chef de donner Dunquerque, non-démolie à nous autres, est fort extraordinaire. On doit l'envisager comme un tour de ministre, qui avoit envie de donner l'alarme aux Hollandois.

J'ai parlé plusieurs fois sur votre sujet au Comte de Strafford, de sorte qu'il n'auroit aucun inconvénient s'il venoit à savoir que vous receviez de mes lettres par le canal de son Secrétaire.

Je suis, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

August 8th, 1711.

I HAVE, according to your Majesty's commands, prepared, in the best manner I was able, a draught of a letter to the Electorefs Dowager of Saxony*. I presume, likewise, to fend an answer to the letter which

* "*A l'Electrice Douairiaire de Saxe.*

" MADAME MA SŒUR,

" A Windsor, ce d'Août, 1710-11.

" Quand j'ai pris la résolution d'envoyer le Comte de Peterborough (1) en Allemagne, une des premières commissions dont j'ai voulu le charger a été celle de vous voir, de vous saluer de ma part, & de vous renouveler mes assurances d'une estime la plus parfaite, & d'une amitié la plus tendre. Je me fers de cette occasion, pour exprimer les vives douleurs que j'ai senti; quand le bruit s'est répandu que le Prince Electoral, mon cousin, alloit changer de religion. A Dieu ne plaise que nous ayons la mortification de voir arriver un aussi grand malheur, que seroit l'établissement du Papisme dans la Maison de Saxe, qui a eu la gloire d'avoir été de tout tems le plus ferme appui des réformés. J'espère que vous prendrez en bonne part cette franchise avec laquelle je vous expose les sentimens de mon cœur les plus intimes, & que vous me croirez, Madame ma sœur,

" Votre très affectionnée sœur,

" ANNE, R."

(1) In expectation of marrying an Archduchess who was a Roman Catholic, the Electoral Prince of Saxony was about to set off for Rome, to abjure the Protestant religion. Lord Peterborough's instructions was as follow :

" Instructions to our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor. Charles, Earl of Peterborow and Monmouth : Given at our Court at St. James's, 22d of February, 1711-12.

" The taking into our serious consideration the great endeavours that are used to pervert our good cousin, the Electoral Prince of Saxony, to the superstitious worship of the church of Rome, and the infinite prejudice and dishonour the Protestant interest would suffer, if so considerable a Prince, in whose country the reformation

which your Majesty received from the Empress Dowager Amelia on the late Emperor's death. Mr. Whitworth was directed some time ago to make an excuse for your Majesty's delay in writing.

mation first began, should abandon the principles of our most holy religion, think it a duty incumbent on us to prevent, as far as in us lies, so fatal a blow. For that end, we have taken the resolution of sending you to the said Prince, whom you are to join, if possible, before his arrival at Rome, yet in such a manner, that your falling-in with him may appear merely accidental: but whether you meet him on the road, or find him at Rome, you shall take a proper opportunity to deliver our letter to him, accompanying it with expressions of our friendship, and real concern for his prosperity. You shall endeavour to insinuate yourself into his good opinion, and, as occasion offers, urge the strongest arguments you can for keeping him steady to the Protestant religion. If you find your representations make any impression upon his mind, you shall then open to him the subject of your commission, and declare, that we have dispatched you to him on purpose to let him know that we have still the same earnest desire of seeing him which we have so often expressed; and that if he persists in those good resolutions he formerly had, to adhere firmly to the religion in which he was educated, he may depend upon a friendly and honourable reception in our Court, in case his inclination or the situation of his affairs bring him this way. If, upon discourse with him, you shall discover that he apprehends himself under a necessity of abjuring his religion, to avoid the dangers and difficulties he will otherwise be exposed to, and that he has an inclination to make his escape, you may concert with him the proper measures for rescuing him out of the hands he is in, and bringing him safe to our dominions, or those of any other Protestant Prince or State.

“If you should happen to be arrived at Turin when these our instructions are delivered to you, you shall acquaint the Duke of Savoy, that, in compliance with your request, we have given you leave to see the city of Rome; for you are by all means to prevent any suspicion of the true intent of your going thither.---- The nature of this service in which we now employ you is such, that we can neither enjoin you to correspond with either of our Secretaries of State, nor limit the time of your return; we therefore leave entirely to your discretion and prudence to come back to Turin when you shall judge your attendance on the Prince of no further use.

“A. R.”

My Lord Treasurer, going last night to Windsor, undertook to acquaint your Majesty with the contents of the last letters from abroad.

I am, with the deepest respect, your Majesty's most dutiful subject, and most devoted, faithful servant.

A Monsieur le Marquis de Tallard.

MONSIEUR,

Ce 9me d'Août, 1711.

J'AI reçu votre lettre du 14me de ce mois, N.S. avec le duplicate de celle que vous me fîtes l'honneur de m'écrire, il y a trois semaines.

La première m'avoit été rendue à tems, mais je vous avoue ingénument, que je n'ai pu prendre la résolution d'y répondre, jusqu'à ce que je pourrois vous promettre avec certitude d'expédier la permission que vous demandez de la Reine d'aller en France.

Pardonnez à cette délicatesse si vous la trouvez mal fondée, & faites-moi la justice d'être persuadé que je suis incapable d'avoir
négligé

négligé à vous écrire par aucune autre raison. Fiez-vous, pour ce coup, à un homme, qui n'a pas le bonheur d'être fort connu de vous, mais qui ne trompera personne.

Je me fait fort d'obtenir dans peu votre liberté sur votre parole, & je vous assure que les difficultés qui ont été opposées à une demande aussi juste & équitable ne naissent pas ici *.

Je suis, Monsieur, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

Que la dernière partie de cette lettre soit, s'il vous plaît, pour vous seulement.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, Aug. 14th, 1711.

I HAVE both your letters of the 21st, N.S. to acknowledge, which came together to my hands.

Our conduct is, it seems, very suspicious to some on your side the water; and the delay in sending over my Lord Strafford

* The allies, particularly the States-General, objected to his enlargement.—On the 4th October he was suffered to go to France for four months, on his parole.

affords matter of speculation: this Lord will, I hope, return a little better instructed to you than he came from you. We hope, upon all occasions, to give Holland reason to be satisfied with our behaviour; at least, it shall be frank and clear. Allow me to observe, that, in this instance, your ministers expect a little more than they pay; and while they reflect that the Queen's ministers continue too long absent from them, they should remember, that for a considerable time they have had none with her. Surely Pensionary Buys does not complain upon this head without grounds; for my own part *il faut franchir le mot*.

I cannot look upon Pensionary Heinsius to be for any peace, unless it be such a one as he has the sole direction of, which will not be the case, whenever we are happy enough to treat.

You are extremely kind in letting me know the terms which the well-inclined in Holland believe to be tolerable. Our sentiments are not different from theirs; but surely whatever event any negotiation of this nature has, some previous care should be taken of the confederacy, least this dis-

solve

solve when the war concludes. We hope this point is not neglected in Holland. We are earnestly desirous of it.

I find by the Duke of Marlborough's letters to me, that he is a great deal concerned at the report which has been spread, concerning the opportunity of fighting which was missed. For my own part, I am no very good judge in military affairs, but I endeavour to be impartial; and in that character must think that the objections to his Grace's conduct on this occasion are not of great weight.

I must say that I should be sorry if the Bristol privateers were obliged to sell their prize in Holland, and could not end their glorious voyage in Britain, as they set out from thence; besides which consideration, that of keeping you longer from us, is an additional mortification to one who longs to embrace you, and who is without reserve.

Your faithful friend,

H. St. J.

To Mr. Drummond.

S I R,

Whitehall, August 17, 1711.

HAVING a matter of very great consequence to communicate to the Pensionary, you will not wonder if I take the freedom to charge you with it, as a person acceptable to him, and on whom we entirely rely. Be pleased, therefore, to take the first opportunity of waiting on this minister, and of informing him that the Queen did, according to the desire signified by him to my Lord Strafford, on the first overtures made some time ago by the enemy, press France to make a more particular proposal, and to offer such a project as might induce the States to enter into a general treaty, to be carried on some where on the other side of the water. That instead of an answer in writing, which the Queen expected, a gentleman has been sent hither, with whom the Secretaries have, by her Majesty's command, conferred; and in her name, declared, by way of preliminary, to him, that she will upon no consideration whatsoever enter into a separate treaty: that it is therefore recommended

commended to this person to prepare the proposition, and that as soon as we receive it, my Lord Strafford shall be dispatched to Holland. Be so good as to let me hear that you have given part of this to the Pensionary, and to believe me, your's, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.*

S I R,

THE subject of the other letter you may, I suppose, have heard of from my Lord Treasurer; what plan France will offer is hard to say; but this I believe is certain, that they will not, at first, propose so much as they will afterwards grant; so that, provided the first paper give, in general terms, a tolerable foundation for treating, it will not be very adviseable, we imagine, to decline a negociation.

If the Pensionary asks to read my other paper, you may allow him to do so, but it is intended for you to keep.

Adieu, I am, &c.

* Inclosed in the foregoing. BOLINGBROKE.

To the Earl of Peterborough.*

MY LORD,

THE letter, which you receive from me this post, is the effect of a clamour which lay hushed till your Lordship was gone, at least which I never heard of till then; and this occasions some speculations to run through my mind. I suppose we shall hear no more of it. Perhaps it may not be the worse that you avoid going to King Augustus, till we see a little more of the designs he is driving on, which otherwise your commission would have led you to do.

Nothing can be so scandalous as the proceeding of some people on the side of Italy†; and what a condition are we in, who must be making new systems of war at this time of day!

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, August 17, 1711.

I ACKNOWLEDGE, with abundance of thanks, the favour of your Grace's private

* Inclosed in his public letter of August 17th, 1711. BOLINGBROKE.

† Probably the Imperialists.

letters;

letters; and I hear with great pleasure how successfully you proceed in the difficult task which you have undertaken.

Several letters, besides those from France, spoke of your Grace's declining to come to an action with the enemy; and it was matter of some surprize to find the deputies on a sudden so warm for hazarding a battle. I dare, however, venture to assure you, that no impresson was received here like what your Grace seems to apprehend. I writ to Mr. Cadogan upon that occasion, and desired him to send me an account of that affair.

As to the project, I understand it to be agreed to according to what your Grace, in your answer to the queries of the States, has laid down; and my Lord Treasurer tells me that he has acquainted your Grace that he will prepare for the payments.

I am truly concerned for your Grace's health, which I heartily wish may be restored, and that you may long live to enjoy the blessings of an honourable peace, which will, whenever it is made, be due to the fatigues and dangers of the war which you have sustained.

I desire your Grace to be persuaded of this
truth,

truth, and to believe that it comes from the heart of, my Lord, your Grace's, &c.

To Mr. Drummond.

SIR,

Whitehall, August 21, 1711.

I HAVE your two letters of the 25th and 28th, N.S. to acknowledge, and a great deal to say to you; but the little time which this night is master of, will oblige me to be short, much against my will.

In the first place, I must, with the utmost gratitude, return you my thanks, and those of my family, for the generous friendship which you have been pleased to show us on the occasion of my brother's illness, who will, I hope, recover, and preserve an eternal remembrance of the debt which he owes you. For my part, I am easy, he will have as much care taken of him in your house, as he could have in his father's; and the event must be submitted to that Providence which disposes of all things.

The next point I have to take notice of is the account you give my Lord Treasurer
of

of the letter from Deal * ; I beg you to let me know who the person that wrote it is ; I give you my honour to keep your secret, but the information will be of great use in our future proceedings. What the event of this negociation may be, I cannot venture to assure you ; but we will neither fall into the snare of detaching ourselves from our allies, let the temptations be never so fair, nor do any thing, which may in the least depart from the character of friendship and intimacy, which the Queen professes for the States.

I am in great haste, and with the most hearty affection, &c. H. St. J.

To the Duke of Argyle†.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Sept. 20, 1711.

I HAVE from day to day deferred writing to your Grace by the post, that I might do

* This relates to the secret treaty for a peace between the British and French ministers. Prior arrived at Paris the middle of July, and returned with Mesnager the beginning of August, as appears by a private letter from Torcy to Bolingbroke. At Deal, Prior, being without a pass, was discovered. Gaultier was sent again to Paris about this time ; and to prevent detection, he was provided with a pass for himself and the packet-boat, and Thornborough, the messenger, was ordered to attend him.

† Commander in chief of the British forces in Spain.

VOL. I.

Y

myself

myself that honour by Colonel Killegrew, which I judged would be a quicker as well as a safer conveyance.

Your Grace may very well think, that the melancholy account, which you are pleased to send of the state of every article of the war in Spain, gives no small uneasiness to her Majesty, and to all those who have the honour to sit in her councils. I must add, that this uneasiness is the greater, because we find very plainly, and the world will find the same whenever this matter is examined into, that your distress in Catalonia does not proceed from want of care or good-will in this administration to support you better, but purely from the weight of the war, which we have by degrees extended very far, and which we have taken entirely upon ourselves, whilst other people have not put a little finger to the burden.

Was the defect here, it would soon be corrected; and I make no doubt but your Grace's representations would awaken any indolence that might suffer so necessary a part of the service to languish. But, my Lord, our misfortune is, that though we do all that lies in our power, yet we cannot do enough, whilst

whilst others who might, and who ought to supply that deficiency, refuse to do any thing.

The parliament gave a certain sum * for the expence of the current year in Spain and in Portugal, but would not enter into any examination of the debts accrued in former years, or into any measures of providing for them. Besides this, the difference between the several heads of expence voted in the Committee of Supply, and the sums granted in the Committee of Ways and Means, amounts to more than a million, according to the best of my remembrance; by which there arises a general deficiency, which must fall on every part of the service in its proportion.

I mention these particulars to your Grace, in order to show you how impossible it is, with a sum short of the established expence, to provide for that, for the extraordinaries of the war, and for the debt of precedent years. However, I find, by the abstract given in from the paymaster's office, that there has been remitted, or otherwise an-

* 1,500,000 l.

swered, on account of this year's service in Spain, already very near 500,000*l*.

The Queen, my Lord, foresaw, in January last, how impossible it would be to ease the war in the country where you command, and to gain time for restoring the shattered condition of our affairs, and for putting that service on a more regular and certain foot, unless a considerable impression was made by the Duke of Savoy upon France, and such a diversion created, as might draw the enemy's whole attention that way. For this reason her Majesty sent the Earl of Peterborough first, and Mr. Whitworth since, to Vienna; for this reason she struggled through all the difficulties that retarded the march of the Prussian recruits, and advanced to his Royal Highness not only the ordinary subsidies due by our treaty with him, but also a very large extraordinary subsidy of her own free gift.

The disputes between the courts of Vienna and Turin were in part accommodated, and the death of the Emperor made it reasonable to wave the remainder; the war of Hungary was ended, and the Duke of Savoy took the field; nothing was wanting to com-

plete this project, but an assurance of 8000 men before the end of the campaign ; these Mr. Whitworth was employed to demand ; and he had power to have offered the Austrian ministers a considerable sum for the march of them ; as he would most certainly have done, if he had not found want of goodwill a greater obstacle than want of power ; and if the answer to all our instances for this campaign had not consisted in promises for the next.

Having said thus much as to the state of the war in general, give me leave to take notice of two or three particular complaints mentioned in your Grace's letters : — the ruinous condition of the fortifications of the towns, the want of arms and ordnance-stores, and the want of magazines. I confess these are articles of such importance, that the war cannot be, in any tolerable manner, prosecuted whilst they remain unsupplied ; but I believe your Grace will agree with me, that as to the first of them, it can never be thought reasonable the Queen should enter into any consideration of it ; King Charles cannot do less than to mend the walls which

we conquer for him; and we know, by fatal experience, what a gulph to our treasure this has been, when we have undertaken to provide for it. As to the spare arms, the several regiments have funds to buy their own, and neither the British troops nor the foreigners in the Queen's pay can claim to have them furnished. As to the magazines of stores and of provisions, I believe, there never was any estimate calculated of them; so that if the money was ready for this service, the direction of it here would be found impracticable. Your Grace came too late into Spain to have them provided for this summer, on any scheme which you could form; and I will be bold to say, that if the management hereof was to have gone on upon the old foot, if the King's ministers, and the Queen's commissaries were to contract as they thought fit, and the treasury to pay as it used to do, blindly, on account, the mines of Mexico and Peru would not suffice to defray the expence.

After this tedious scrawl, your Grace will be apt to ask what I mean, and what is then to be done? My opinion I will freely deliver;

deliver; and I believe, in so doing, I shall speak the sense of the Queen and of her ministers. Since it is apparent that we are at this time of day unable to supply the Spanish war as it has been carried on, a new regulation ought to be made for that service; and instead of undertaking more than we can perform, an expence, within our power to bear, should be ascertained. Something of this kind is suggested, in an answer given by her Majesty to a memorial lately presented by the Count de Gallas. Give me leave, on this occasion, to say, that to contribute to such a plan for the war in Spain, and in the mean time to maintain the footing we have, is perhaps as great a service as can be rendered to her Majesty, and to the common cause.

It is indeed no agreeable situation to struggle with such difficulties as your Grace, I am very sensible, labours under; but the glory of bearing up against them, and of subduing them by perseverance, is perhaps greater than any which results from actions of greater *éclat*; I believe the Marechal of Schomberg valued himself on the cam-

paign of Dundalk at least as much as on any which he ever made*.

My letter is already swelled to an intolerable size; but as I write to one for whom I have the truest esteem and warmest affection, and as the subject is of great importance both to the public and to your Grace, I hope to be pardoned for that which upon any less occasion would be inexcusable.

Your Grace may be assured that I was not wanting to solicit the leave which you ask to come home in the winter, since you desire it so earnestly, and lay so much stress upon it. The Queen was at first pleased to say that she would write herself to your Grace; since that I find her Majesty disposed to allow you the liberty you desire, as I take it for granted my Lord Dartmouth acquaints you; unless the departure of the King from Catalonia, or some other accident which may, in the present distracted condition of Europe, fall out, should make it of absolute necessity for you to continue; in which case I will be answerable, for your Grace would

* In 1689, King William dispatched Schomberg to the army in Ireland, where James was in great force, and the utmost that could be done by the Marechal was to maintain his ground.

not think of removing was the licence in your pocket.

Your Grace's pension ran the common fate of those charged on the post-office, when the ingraftment upon that duty was made in the last session ; but there can be no doubt concerning the renewal of it, and I hope your Grace does not imagine that you want a friend on this score.

Mr. Killegrew is an old acquaintance of mine ; but if he was otherwise, your recommendation, my Lord, would determine me to do him all the service in my power ; and there would be no need of the Marshal's character of him. Mentioning the Marshal, puts me in mind to say, that I fear your Grace made a wrong judgment of what was wrote to you on his subject ; since I can be very positive that nothing was intended like the turn which you seem to give to that order. But my Lord Dartmouth tells me that he explains this matter in his letter to your Grace.

Once more, my Lord, excuse the length and the freedom of this letter. If you find any matter in it contrary to your sense and apprehension of things, believe that I may
err

err in my judgment, but that I can never fail on the side of inclination and friendship towards your Grace, to whom I always have been, am, and will ever be, a devoted servant.

A Monsieur le Baron de Seckingen.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 22me, d'Août, 1711.

C'EST une grande justice que le Baron de Forstner * m'a rendu, quand il vous a assuré, que je ne discontinuois pas à avoir pour vous ces sentimens d'amitié, dont j'ai toujours fait profession, depuis la connoissance que nous fîmes à Milan.

Il est vrai que je me suis retiré il y a trois ans à la campagne †, & il est aussi vrai que j'y ai passé mon tems dans la lecture & dans le plaisirs champêtres, sans avoir jamais regretté ou la Cour, ou cette fortune riante dont mon ambition étoit flattée. Mais quand il a plu à la Reine de me rappeler à son service, je me suis rentré dans les affaires avec un plaisir égal à celui que j'ai senti

* Envoy of the Duke of Lorraine.

† Bolingbroke was not returned member in the parliament preceding the change of administration.

dans

dans ma retraite. Voilà, Monsieur, comme je suis fait, & j'ai cru qu'il convenoit à notre ancienne amitié que je vous rendisse ce compte.

Aimez-moi, s'il vous plaît, toujours ; & soyez assuré, que de mon côté, je conserverai toute ma vie le souvenir précieux de ces beaux jours que nous avons passés ensemble, & que je ferai du fond de mon ame, mon cher Monsieur, Votre, &c.

A son Altesse Royale le Duc de Lorraine.*

MONSEIGNEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 22me Août, 1711.

LES témoignages que j'ai tâché de donner du zèle que j'ai pour le service de votre Altesse, ne méritent pas l'honneur qu'elle vient de me faire, par sa lettre du 4me du mois passé.

La Reine a tant d'estime & tant d'amitié pour la personne de votre Altesse, & se trouve tellement persuadée de la justice de

* The Duke of Lorrain's territories had been seized by the French, though his neutrality had been accepted by Louis XIV ; and at this time the Duke was in retirement at Luneville, retaining only the outward semblance of his former dignity.

ses prétentions, qu'il ne faut pas que je m'attribue un faux mérite, mes offices à cette égard ne peuvent être que très inutiles auprès de sa Majesté.

Monsieur de Steighens* est un ministre que j'ai connu depuis long tems, & pour lequel j'ai toute la considération possible. Il fera toujours le bien venu auprès de moi, mais il ne pourra l'être jamais tant que quand il me fournira les occasions de montrer avec combien de respect & d'attachement je suis,

Monseigneur, de votre Altesse, &c.

A Monsieur le Baron de Forstner.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 22me d'Août, 1711.

VOUS êtes trop obligeant, & vous me faites des complimens qui ne sont pas proportionnés aux petites honnêtetés que j'ai tâché de vous faire pendant votre séjour à Londres. Je me rends justice, & j'aurois honte de n'avoir pas plus fait pour marquer le respect que j'ai pour votre personne, & pour le caractère dont vous étiez revêtu, si

* Had been Resident of the Elector Palatine.

je ne favois que les occupations continuelles que j'ai sur le bras, me serviroient d'excuse envers un homme aussi raisonnable que vous l'êtes. Monsieur de Steighens * n'aura qu'à me fournir les moyens d'être utile à Monseigneur le Duc de Lorraine, du côté du zèle & de la bonne volonté je ne pécherai pas.

Le Comte de Peterborough, qui va veiller aux intérêts de sa Majesté & de la cause commune dans l'empire, a dans ses instructions une entr'autres qui regarde ce point. Il ne manquera pas d'appuyer la dessus, & j'espère que vous ferez content de sa conduite.

Permettez-moi de vous renouveler les assurances d'un souvenir éternel, & de l'estime parfaite que conservera pour vous, Monsieur,

Le plus humble, &c.

From the Duke of Shrewsbury.

S I R,

Heathrop, 25th August, 1611, at night.

IF the gentleman † you have to deal with comes with sincere intentions to agree, what

* Steighens was now, probably, Resident of the Duke of Lorrain.

† Mesnager.

is asked from hence will appear so reasonable, that I hope the bargain will soon be concluded. Since it has been resolved to let him send at all, nobody was so proper for that office as Gau—*. I wish it could have been determined with less loss of time, for I apprehend our friends beyond sea will be impatiently jealous of these delays, and apt to make too much clamour, unless means have been used to give them some satisfaction.

I suppose you spent the first part of this week in informing yourselves, and coming to an agreement together, what you should demand, and for that reason could not see him sooner than Thursday night; but, however, since that has been deferred so long, I may be sure that being at Windsor next Friday, as I will not fail to be, that will be many days before you can expect a return from your messenger, and as soon as you can have any service to command, Sir,

Your most obedient, and faithful

Humble servant,

SHREWSBURY.

Though I give this letter to the mes-

* L'Abbé Gaultier.

senger

senger to-night before I go to bed, I told him there was no haste in his return, and he might stay till the morning.

From the Duke of Shrewsbury.

August 27, 1711.

I HAVE received the favour of your letter of the 26th, with the two papers. As to what we demanded for ourselves, I hope it has been well considered, and is so beneficial to the nation, that it will warrant the concessions we are obliged to make; but I am so ignorant in those affairs, that I shall trouble you with nothing upon them. But as I continue still to mistrust the sincerity of the French, and that these are nothing but arts to sow division among us, so, one time or other, I conclude, these papers will be made public; in which case, though we know her Majesty has a fair and just intention, with relation to the allies, yet in these papers little notice having been taken of their interests, neither in general words nor in particular, it may look suspiciously, as if her party had had no consideration but
of

of what concerns Britain; and, having settled that with France, would leave her friends to shift for themselves at a general treaty, in which her partiality might be liable to suspicion, since she had beforehand stipulated for herself: this, as it is far from her design, so in all the papers that pass, a more than ordinary care should be taken to explain that to the world. I remember to have seen, in a paper delivered in by Monsieur Me—*, some propositions so disadvantageous to the allies, that I question whether notice should not be taken of them—as the articles about the empire, that of the Elector of Bavaria's having Flanders, and I think some others; for if ever all these papers should be made public, silence, on such a subject, might fall within the suspicion of consent; and if Me— had been desired to form a project to send to Holland, these matters would have fallen in naturally. I think we ought to be more particular as to the demolishing Dunkirk; the referring the consideration of an equivalent to a general treaty, looks too like yielding a point, it is my opinion, we must insist on.

*. Mefnager.

I do not comprehend why one paper is given to Me—and another to Gau—*, for there can be no doubt but what you give to the last he will communicate to the first.

Looking over the papers again, I am more of opinion there is something in them looks so like bargaining for yourselves apart, and leaving your friends to shift at a general treaty, that I am confirmed the exposing such a paper (as it will be in the power of France to do) may create great jealousy and complaint from the allies.

I will not fail to be at Windsor on Friday; and am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

SHREWSBURY.

To the Earl of Orrery.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, August 24, 1711.

I AM sorry that the affair of the 1800l. which lies in a little compass, and the Queen's orders upon which were so very clear and explicit, is not yet concluded: I

* Gaultier.

can only repeat, that, upon my word, it is no fault of mine.

We hope that the siege of Bouchain, difficult as it is, will now succeed. I hardly think two armies in the world were ever in such a situation, as that of ours and that of the French are at this time.

Mr. Lambard was with me about Mr. Fenton; I told him, that the alterations in the several commissions not going so fast as was expected, the provisions for many people were delayed, and for Mr. Fenton among the rest; but that I durst venture to take it upon myself to answer, that the gentleman's merit would not go unrewarded, nor his genius want encouragement, and that I would make his interest my care.

The man at Paris shall have his bills punctually answered by Messrs. Drummond and Vander Heider, at Amsterdam.

We have this day received news that the account was come to St. John's, in Newfoundland, of the fleet under Admiral Walker, and the forces under Mr. Hill, having sailed up the river of Canada to Quebec, whilst Colonel Nicholson was marched over land with the militia of the Queen's colonies,
and

and the Indians, into New France. This disposition being exactly agreeable to their private instructions, the news is, without dispute, authentic, and I believe you may depend on our being masters, at this time, of all North America*. I am, &c.

H. St. J.

I will send you, next post, a copy of my letter to the Duke of Argyle.

To Mr. Drummond.

S I R,

Whitehall, August 28th, 1711.

I INTENDED to have troubled you with a long letter by this post, on the subject of some of the last which I received from you, but it is impossible; a tide of business comes in upon me, and besides, I am a good deal disordered with a cold.

I must, in every letter, renew my hearty thanks to you for your generosity and kind-

* Bolingbroke, with the assistance of Nicholson, planned this expedition, which failed *in toto*. The ships of war were too large for such service, and were sent back to Great Britain; and the admiral, not being able to procure pilots for the river St. Lawrence, being in want of provisions, of which, at that time, he could draw no supply from the American colonies, and having lost several transports, returned with the fleet, without farther attempts.

ness to the poor lad who lies ill in your house. My father does the same for himself; and sure I am such a mark of friendship can never be forgot by any who have the least tincture of gratitude and honour: you will oblige us further in sending for such books or other things as my brother may have left behind him at Utrecht, and in ordering any thing he may still owe in that place to be cleared; for though he should recover, my father does not intend to let him return thither.

We are as earnestly and as zealously for a new alliance to subsist between the two nations, in time of peace, as the Pensionary can be; we will think on our side, you must do so on yours, how to make it as close and as strong as possible; and when my Lord Strafford goes over, he will meet the Dutch Ministers more than half way in this affair.

Britain will act honourably to the last; no peace without the States is to be had, or ever was thought of here, but a peace must be had in concert with them; and such a one will, I hope, be thought of both there and here.

Pardon me if I say, the Pensionary's desire

fire of a decisive battle is astonishing; it looks like the folly of a man who, having once mistook in his game, piqued and half desperate, determines to make a push, and either to win or to lose all.

No man takes more part in the interest of our gallant countrymen who are returned from the South-Sea than myself, and I assure you that there is nothing in my power for their honour and service which shall be omitted. They need not have any doubt of the Queen's protection, and I take it for granted that Lord Dartmouth has had her orders about the convoy to attend them.

I am, &c.

A Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

29me Août, 1711.

JE n'ai pas pu me résoudre à laisser partir Monsieur Gaultier sans me servir de cette occasion, pour vous-remercier très humblement de l'honneur de votre lettre, qui m'a été rendue par Monsieur Prior, & pour vous assurer qu'il n'y a rien que je desire plus ardemment que de pouvoir continuer vous écrire, & à recevoir de vos lettres.

Z 3

Vous

Vous voulez bien, Monsieur, que je me remette à la relation que Monsieur Mesnager vous fera par écrit, & Monsieur Gaultier de vive voix, & que je finisse en vous assurant, que je suis, avec beaucoup d'estime,

Monsieur, votre, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, August 31st, 1711.

I RECEIVE this moment the honour of your Grace's letters, which I shall be sure to-morrow to lay before her Majesty; and by Tuesday's post to acquaint your Grace with any orders which I may receive upon them.

I am heartily glad to find that the siege of Bouchain goes so successfully forward, notwithstanding the difficulties under which you labour; and am, with all respect,

My Lord, your Grace's, &c.

To Mr. Drummond,

SIR,

Windfor Castle, Sept. 4th, 1711.

I CANNOT help being concerned to find, that in Holland, as well as at Hanover, umbrage

brage is still so easily taken upon the slightest occasion ; but I must tell you we shall grow less and less uneasy at these jealousies every day. You will find the Queen act with equal affection to her friends and allies, and at the same time with more firmness, with a greater air of independence, in short, more like herself than ever.

Those who have the honour now to serve her, will endeavour to do it according to this character, and will depend on the course and tenor of their proceedings, to set their merit in a just and proper light, without being frightened, vexed, or diverted from their measures, by any suspicions which may be entertained of them, or by any clamour which may be raised against them.

You have already had some account from me, as well as from the Gazette, of what passed at Edinburgh, in relation to the medal of the Pretender, sent by the Duchess of Gordon to the College of Advocates. Since that time, one Mr. Dundas, who is described by the Lord Advocate to be a light, pragmatical, headstrong young fellow, has printed a pamphlet, which, under the pretence of defending the royalty of that society, is the

most virulent libel that I ever saw, against the revolution, the settlement of the crown, the past, the present reign, the union, and the whole English nation. You remember, I dare say, how, soon after her Majesty's accession to the crown, a book came out called "The shortest Way with the Dissenters;" written in the character of a Church of England author, but full of a spirit falsely ascribed to the members of it; how vengeance was denounced against all our sectaries, and what an alarm it created amongst them, who were under real or pretended apprehension of persecution; at last you know the writer was discovered, and proved to be De Foe*. We look on Dundas employed to act a second time the same kind of farce, and many circumstances there are to induce us to this opinion. Among others, I own to you, that nothing weighs more with me than the behaviour of Sir D. Dalrymple, the Queen's Advocate he ought to be, and he rather proves the Advocate of the Dukes of Gordon, of Dundas, and of whoever else may appear to have had a hand

* A hireling scribbler, who wrote for any party, and was afterwards employed and paid by Lord Oxford to write the *Mercator Redivivus*.

in sending, receiving, or defending the medal. His excuses are grounded on the weakness of the guilty persons, on the ill-temper of Scotland, and on mistakes in law, which I cannot persuade myself are real; but sure it is, that if the administration should be influenced by that coolness which he endeavours to inspire, he would himself hereafter prove one of the most forward to convert it into a crime. I may own to you that the Queen is determined to turn his artifice upon his own head, and to remove him from his post*; after which, the most strict enquiry into this whole matter, and the most vigorous prosecution of it, will be directed.

I had writ to the Post-masters General, upon the first notice you gave me, of the letters being stopped which were sent to the persons concerned for the South-Sea adventurers, and do assure you, that the matter should not have slept, but since those gentlemen are now satisfied, I have no more to say.

As I am writing this I receive your's of the 11th instant, N.S. by which I perceive

* He was accordingly displaced, and Sir James Stewart succeeded him.

you will be gone from Amsterdam before mine can reach you. I shall, therefore, omit a great deal which I intended to have said to you, on the contents of your letter of the 4th and 8th. I send this, however, to Mr. Decker, and leave it to him to forward or not as he shall judge of your motions.

I am extremely pleased that I may hope so soon to embrace you here ; and am, with the utmost truth, your, &c.

To Mr. Laws.*

S I R,

Windfor, Sept. 4, 1711.

I HAVE the letter from Paris of the 3d of September, which is the second I have received from the person my Lord Orrery employs on my account ; Mr. Drummond, of Amsterdam, will take care to answer, according to the agreement made with him, the sixty pistoles a month. I cannot say the gentleman's letters are yet very full, but I hope they will, when he has had more time to get acquaintance, and to settle his correspondencies. The facts, which he dwells pretty much upon, concerning M. Hermes

* Secretary to the embassy at Brussels.

being sent to the Bastille, and his associate, M. Du Pré, arriving at Paris, and immediately returning into Holland, may be of moment for ought I know, but not being acquainted with the characters of these persons, they are of little information or use to me. I am your, &c.

To the Bishop of Winchester.*

MY LORD,

Windsor Castle, Sept. 5, 1711.

I HAVE the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 2d instant, and in an answer to it must take the liberty to say, that the persons who complain so loudly know very little of the forms of business, or have a very great inclination to find fault.

Some time in the last month, the Earl of Dartmouth sent me from this place, where he attended the Queen, the letter of the Mayor and justices of Winchester, together with the copy of Benj. Crooker's information. I laid the whole before my Lords of the Committee of Council, and by their di-

* Dr. Trimnel; he had been tutor to Lord Sunderland.

rection referred the case to Mr. Attorney General, whose report I transmitted to the same gentlemen as had sent up the information, signifying to them that they should proceed according to his opinion. My conduct in this affair has been with her Majesty's knowledge, and has had her approbation: I hope it will have your Lordship's.

I received from the Duke of Beaufort, a few days since, the same information, taken before Mr. Popham, as your Lordship now sends me; and although what is fit to be the rule in Codrington's case, must naturally be so in Dickenson's, yet I have sent the latter also with Crooker's attestation, by her Majesty's order, to Mr. Attorney General, and a copy of my letter to him comes inclosed.

Whoever protect Popish priests, are certainly friends to the Pretender. I hope there are no such any where in authority; sure I am, that the proceedings in this case give no ground to suspect there are any. For my own part, as I never intend to live under his government, so I shall never favour his cause. I acknowledge very thankfully your Lordship's good opinion of me, and
the

the trouble you have been pleased to give yourself on this occasion.

I am, my Lord, with all possible respect,
your Lordship's, &c.

To the Earl of Peterborough.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Sept. 11, 1711.

THE perpetual hurry which I have lived in for some days past, has been the only reason why you have no sooner heard from me. I have not, indeed, materials for a letter of form, but I want none for a letter of friendship; and it would be inexcusable, if I should suffer many posts to go without carrying your Lordship my thanks, when hardly any arrive without bringing me some favour from you.

In all the conversations which I have had on your subject, or on that of the public, with the Count de Gallas, I have been very frank in commending your Lordship's zeal for the common cause, and in blaming the indolence of his Court. The several hints which you are pleased to give me, I will take some occasion of using, according
to

to your Lordship's desire; but I must own myself entirely of the opinion which I have seen mentioned in a letter of the Duke of Savoy to the Count de Maffei, that, *des dits & des redits avec ces Ministres ne valent rien*; and the best thing we can resolve upon, is to endeavour to save the whole, without depending on them, or even expecting their concurrence.

Our measures are not in the least altered here, concerning the marriage of the Prince of Piedmont, nor our opinions concerning the true policy of continuing united with the Duke of Savoy, and of strengthening that Prince's hands. On the contrary, my Lord Strafford will be amply instructed on this subject; and he will be directed to speak of the marriage to the States, not as a matter which her Majesty deliberates upon, but as a proposition which is so just, and so expedient, that the Queen is determined to pursue it by all possible means.

I hope the first packet will bring us some letters from your Lordship, writ since your arrival at Frankfort. The state of the confederacy in general, and of Germany in particular, seems, to my poor apprehension, so
perplexed

perplexed—there is so much to be feared, so little to be hoped—the different views are so many, and the changes of them so frequent, that the Queen, on one hand, takes too great a share in the affairs of the Continent, and has too large a proportion of the burden of the war upon her to be so little in the secret; and, on the other hand, her increase of knowledge might perhaps draw after it an increase of load; and she, who has already more engagements than are agreeable to the interest of Britain, might, by a larger participation of the secret, be pressed to advance into more. Your Lordship's observations concerning the state of your own country, and the dangers which those, who mix in public business here, are exposed to, are just; I wish they were otherwise, for your sake, for my own, and for that of the public.

I am, with truth and respect, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, Sept. 11th, 1711.—Near twelve at night.

COLLINS, the Messenger, is this moment arrived from the Duke of Marlborough;

borough; he has brought the inclosed letter for your Majesty, and the good news of the garrison of Bouchain surrendering prisoners of war.

I have the honour to transmit to your Majesty, at the same time, a draught of my letter to Mr. Scot, which I have shown this morning to my Lord Treasurer; and which, with your Majesty's approbation, is to be sent, whenever you shall please to write to the Electress Dowager of Saxony.

Besides the business of the post I have the honour to serve in, there are two days this week to be given up to the South-Sea Company, otherwise I should have had an opportunity of bringing these dispatches myself to Windsor.

I am, with all possible devotion, your Majesty's most dutiful subject, and most obedient, faithful, humble servant,

H. St. J.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

Verfailles, le 18me Sept. 1711.

J'AI reçu avec un sensible plaisir la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire,

& que Monsieur Gaultier m'a remise. Je vous prie de croire que je ne souhaite pas moins que vous, qu'il revienne bientôt des tems plus tranquilles & plus heureux, où je puisse cultiver l'honneur de votre amitié, & vous faire connoître que je suis parfaitement,
Monsieur,

Votre, &c.

DE TORCY.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Sept. 11, 1711.—Eleven at night.

I HAD nothing to write to your Grace in the ordinary forms of business, when Collins, the Messenger, arrived this moment, and brought us news which adds to your glory and our happiness.

I have sent an express to Windsor with your Grace's letter to the Queen, the tower guns I have ordered to fire; and I beg you to believe that I take such part in this success as becomes an honest man, and, my Lord,

Your Grace's faithful, &c.

To Mr. Cadogan.

S I R,

Whitehall, Sept. 11th, 1711.—Twelve at night.

COLLINS arrives this moment; and, with me, friendship must give room to business. I thank you for your letter; I congratulate with you upon your good success; and I hope the triumphs of the Queen's arms will bring the enemy to such a sense of their weakness as may produce reasonable propositions of peace. I am, &c.

We shall do our part as to your project, but we shall not understand any backwardness in the Dutch.

A Monsieur le Baron Bothmar.*

De Whitehall, ce 14me Sept. 1711.

JE n'ai pas manqué de représenter à la Reine le contenu de votre lettre du 8me de ce mois, & sa Majesté a trouvé les appréhensions & les demandes de son Altesse Electorale si bien fondée, que ses ordres sont donnés au Duc de Marlborough de con-

* The Hanoverian Envoy at the courts of St. James's and the Hague.

certes les moyens pour retirer la cavalerie, & les dragons insensiblement, & avec le moins de bruit qu'il sera possible *. Pointe d'une très grande importance; comme on l'a fort bien prévu à votre cour. Je vous supplie, Monsieur, de croire que j'embrasse avec plaisir toutes les occasions d'entretenir une correspondance avec vous, & que je me sens extrêmement heureux quand je puis donner quelque marque de mon zèle pour le service de Son Altesse Electorale.

Je suis, &c.

Le Grand Trésorier s'est donné l'honneur de répondre à la lettre de son Altesse Electorale par la dernière poste.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Sept. 14th, 1711.

I HAD indeed a particular satisfaction in the good news of the surrender of Bouchain, and of making the garrison prison-

* These apprehensions were probably excited by the King of Denmark, and the state of affairs in the north of Europe, for the Danish troops were then upon their march to Bremen.

ers of war. There is nothing wanting to complete your glory, or the dishonour of your enemy.

It will be very extraordinary, if the States, who were a few weeks ago, so much upon their mettle, should refuse to enter into the propositions which your Grace has sent them. On the Queen's part, nothing will be neglected, as I hope my Lord Stair has satisfied you before this letter can come to your hands.

The Queen, my Lord, thinks the apprehensions of the Elector of Hanover so well grounded, that his desire ought to be complied with. My Lord Treasurer has writ to this purpose to his Electoral Highness, I have done the same to Monsieur de Bothmar; and I am directed to let your Grace know that her Majesty refers it to you to settle the most proper methods of parting with the horse and dragoons as insensibly as possible, lest other demands of the same kind should come upon us.

I am ever, with respect, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, Sept. 18th, 1711.

AT my arrival here, I found a Dutch post come in, and just now we received another. The inclosed extract contains all the news which the office letters bring.

By the Duke of Marlborough's private dispatch it appears, that the Dutch make great difficulties about executing the project for winter quarters, and begin already to insist, that your Majesty should, in this instance also, exceed your own proportion to pay some part of theirs.

I am, with the utmost respect,

Madam, your Majesty's, &c.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Sept. 18th, 1711.

AT my return this morning from Windsor, I received the honour of your Grace's letters of the 21st and 24th of this month, N.S. with the two from my Lord Albemarle to your Grace, and that from your Grace to my Lord, inclosed.

A a 3 Your

You may depend that no person shall have any knowledge of them besides the Queen, except the Treasurer and the Chamberlain, who will be consulted on the application which the Dutch intend to make, and who must therefore be apprized beforehand of the state of the affair.

Your Grace seems fully to have removed the difficulty arising on the uncertainty they pretended there was, whether the foreign corps would furnish their quotas towards this winter campaign. It is undoubtedly reasonable, that all the troops which compose the army should have their share in this fatigue, but the States ought to be the less rigid upon this head, because they may consider, that although the Queen's troops take the field every year to the last regiment, yet of theirs a greater and a greater number is each summer left in garrison, and as their conquests increase their army lessens.

The Queen makes no difficulty of coming into the proportion of expence for forage, which your Grace at first offered to her Majesty's consideration; and my Lord Treasurer did this day tell me, that when he received a computation of the expence, he
would

would be ready to remit the money: to insist that a farther load should be laid here, will I doubt, be thought a severe imposition; we are to hope that the reasonableness of this pretension, and your Grace's representations against it, will have the effect which they ought to have.

The condition which your Grace mentions as fit to be made with the Elector of Hanover, you will have it in your power to make, the Queen having in general agreed to his request; but having left at the same time the particulars to be adjusted by your Grace. I am, my Lord, &c.

A Monsieur d'Hervart.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 18me Sept. 1711.

JE vous dois mes remercimens pour deux de vos lettres, dont la dernière, qui est du 22me de ce mois, N.S. est arrivée ce matin. Elles roulent sur deux chefs, l'envoi de Monsieur Buys dans ce pays-ci*, & les bruits qui

* Vryberge, the Dutch Ambassador, died in July, and the States-general had no representative at the British Court, till Buys' arrival, in October.

courent en Hollande d'une négociation de paix entre la Reine & le Roi de France.

Quant au premier pointe, je vous dirai, que tout homme qui paroîtra propre aux Hollandois eux-mêmes d'être envoyé dans cette conjoncture auprès de sa Majesté, nous sera bien venu, & Monsieur Buys autant qu'aucun autre. Notre procédé sera toujours clair & net, & si l'on ne craigne pas chez vous que nous soyons meilleurs Anglois que nos prédécesseurs dans le ministère, on n'aura pas la moindre raison d'appréhender que nous devenions des alliés ou moins affectionnés ou moins fidelles.

Quant à l'autre pointe, je ne vous puis dire que deux mots, mais je crois que vous les trouverez significatifs; c'est, que la Reine ne fera jamais la paix avec la France, comme les Hollandois ont fait à Nimegue. Elle a soutenu cette guerre, aussi bien que la dernière, de concert avec les Etats; elle prétend traiter la paix de même, elle avancera dans l'une & l'autre leurs intérêts autant qu'il lui sera possible, & elle n'oubliera pas les siens.

Je suis, mon cher Monsieur, &c.

Depuis que j'ai écrite cette lettre, j'ai
reçu

reçu la vôtre du 27^{me} de ce mois, N.S. par laquelle je vois que, selon toute apparence, Monsieur Buys ne tardera pas à nous rendre visite.

To the Earl of Peterborough.*

THE rumour of Mr Prior's† journey into France, and of several other particulars concerning a negociation of peace, has been every where propagated with great industry.

Your Lordship thinks it neither proper nor possible to disown the fact. I confess my opinion is, that to take any pains either to deny or to own it, is below the character of the Queen; and certainly the best answer that any minister of her's can give, is to say, that her Majesty, on whom they have all leaned during the whole course of the war, may very well be trusted in preparing the way for peace, if any such treaty be on foot.

* Inclosed in a public letter of 18th September 1711. BOLINGBROKE.

† Prior's authority was very laconic, and consisted of the following words, signed by the Queen: Le Sieur Prior est pleinement instruit & autorisé de communiquer à la France nos demandes préliminaires, & de nous en rapporter la réponse.

A Monsieur

A Monsieur de Paleotti.*

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 21^{re} Sept. 1711.

VOUS recevrez avec celle-ci la lettre que sa Majesté a écrit en votre faveur au Roi Catholique. J'espère que vous en ressentirez tous les effets que vous devez attendre d'un appui aussi puissant, & d'une recommandation aussi forte. Par la poste qui part ce soir, j'écrirai au Comte de Peterborough, ministre de la Reine à Frankfort, sur votre sujet, comme il est fort des amis du Duc de Shrewsbury, il ne manquera pas de l'employer, avec chaleur à l'avancement de vos intérêts, lesquels je vous prie de croire, que j'ai fort à cœur, & d'être persuadé que je serai toujours avec beaucoup d'estime, Monsieur, votre, &c.

To Mr. Harrison.

S I R,

Whitehall, Sept. 21, 1711.

MR. DRUMMOND has given me your letter of the 22^d of this month; and I will

* Had been Envoy-extraordinary from the Duke of Guastella.

OWN,

own, that in the case you mention, you have some obligation to me, to bring you acquainted with Mr. Drummond, and to recommend you to his confidence was doing you a real service. I hear, with great pleasure, that you have made a very good use of this advantage; for since it fell to my share to throw you into business, I think myself, to some degree, concerned about your proficiency in it.

I believe that Mr. Hare wrote, by my direction, to you, concerning a Jacobite pamphlet, which was sent from hence, translated into French, and openly sold in Holland*. That old woman d'Ayrolle† is ordered to complain in form of this scandal, but I should be glad if you could make use of your sagacity to discover, from what quarter here it was conveyed thither. Corticelli is said to have received and conveyed it to the bookseller; if money will secure the discovery, I will furnish that to you.

The licence of the press in Britain, and the licence of the tongue every where, is at

* This pamphlet was entitled, *An Oath to an Invader, and abjuring the invaded, dissected and examined*. It was sent to the Secretary of State by the penny-post.

† Secretary of the Queen at the Hague.

present employed about supposed negotiations of peace carried on in this country. I believe you may properly enough say, whenever you are talked to on that subject, that it is certain the Queen will never take any measures contrary to the public interest, or without the participation of Holland, in matters relating to the common cause; and that her conduct, throughout the whole course of the war, must put every one in the wrong who pretends to suspect the contrary. At the same time you will do well to insinuate, that she is Queen of Britain, and that the interests of this island are not any longer to be deemed the property of other people. Certain it is, that she will use Holland as her best and nearest ally; let the Dutch take care to observe the same conduct, and the union of the two nations is indissoluble.

My Lord Strafford is married, honey-moon is, I suppose, over, and as a proof of my friendship to him, I will now endeavour in a few days to send him back.

I am ever your affectionate kinsman and servant,

H. St. J.

P.S. I

P.S. I forgot to tell you, that in a letter to Harry Watkins, you will do well to observe from what I write to you, that the Examiner is silent, but that my Lord Marlborough's stupid Chaplain* continues to spoil paper. They had best for their patron's sake, as well as their own, be quiet. I know how to set them in the pillory, and how to revive fellows that will write them to death.

To the Earl of Orrery.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Sept. 25, 1711.

TO another it would be affectation, to you I may say with the freedom of a friend, that I am half murdered with a load of business, in comparison of which all that I ever went through in my life is a trifle†.

I cannot imagine what ground my Lord Marlborough has of complaint, in a case where, as General of the army, or Ambassador to the States, or Master of the Ord-

* Dr. Hare, Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, and afterwards Bishop of Chichester.

† The business relating to the negotiations for peace belonged properly to Lord Dartmouth's department; so that Bolingbroke undertook it extra-provincially.

nance, or Colonel of the Guards, he has no proper authority ; but you must account rightly for this start, which is owing to the people about him, who have been the occasion of his late misfortunes, for the greatest part. To show you how wisely they act in little as well as in greater instances for him, there came out, the other day, a pamphlet called *Bouchain*, writ by his stupid priest, Hare, which is one entire panegyric upon his Grace, and an invective, I think, against the Queen, and all who serve her. What has been the consequence of this able performance ? Somebody or other has been provoked by it ; an answer, full of spirit, has come out, old facts are revived, new ones told, and whereas the humour was spent, and his name either not used, or not used with respect, he has been treated, in my opinion, worse than ever he was. Write to me a letter some time hence, which I may read to the Queen, concerning your coming over.

Breton is this day arrived from Spain ; and I was extremely glad to receive a letter from the Duke of Argyle, writ in a milder style than his dispatches have of late been.

I cannot forbear saying to you, that he has all this summer sent such letters hither as his friends do neither deserve nor fear, and as no ministers living could bear from any man but one whose heart is good, and who only errs from too much heat of constitution *. One fatal error has misled him, which is, that he has reasoned abstractedly on what he saw in his own sphere, and did not consider, nor indeed know the whole system of the Queen's measures.

My dear Lord, I have always been, I am, and ever will be, your's, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, Sept. 20th, 1711.

THE Lords of the Committee of Council met this morning at the Cockpit, and directed the Earl of Dartmouth and myself to confer with Monsieur Mesnager. We saw him accordingly this evening at Mr. Prior's house, where my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Chamberlain were likewise present.

* The Duke of Argyle appears to have been a character perfectly independent of party consideration.

He has put into our hands the answer signed by the King of France, to the demands last sent over by your Majesty's order, and this answer complies with every article, except the 8th, relating to North America. We find, however, that we shall be able to compound this point with him, in the manner which your Majesty some time ago proposed to pass it in, provided France gave you satisfaction upon the seventh article, as she has now entirely done.

The proposals which are to be sent into Holland as the foundation of a general treaty, we have likewise received from him, and that which was thought the most liable to objection has been very much mended. My Lord Treasurer having, however, proposed some farther considerations, in order to make the whole more palatable abroad, and Monsieur Mesnager seeming inclined to agree to them, I am this night to draw them into form, for my Lords of the Council to consider to-morrow morning.

This, Madam, being the present situation of the treaty, your servants were unanimously of opinion, that the warrant and the full powers, should be prepared this night,
and

and transmitted to your Majesty, by which means, if it be your pleasure, the latter may pass the great seal to-morrow.

It is now so extremely late, I have still so much business to do, which must of necessity be got ready by morning; that the whole night would not suffice if I was to engross the instruments in my own hand-writing, I therefore make use of a clerk to transcribe them; but it is the same who has copied all the papers which have passed in the course of this negotiation.

There comes an exact translation of the full powers in this packet, the words of which are very ample and extensive; but they are agreeable to the form used by your Majesty upon such occasions.

My Lord Treasurer moved, and all my Lords were of the same opinion, that Mr. Prior should be added to those who are empowered to sign; the reason for which is, because he having personally treated with Monsieur de Torcy, is the best witness we can produce of the sense in which the general preliminary engagements are entered into. Besides which, as he is the best versed in matters of trade, of all your Majesty's

servants, who have been trusted in this secret, if you shall think fit to employ him in the future treaty of commerce, it will be of consequence that he has been a party concerned in concluding that convention, which must be the rule of this treaty.

The rest of the plenipotentiaries are all those who have the honour to sit in your Majesty's Cabinet Council, which my Lords understood to be your Majesty's pleasure.

The Ostend mail, which arrived last night, brought no news.

I am, with the utmost respect,

Madam, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, Sept. 24th, 1711.

I HAD prepared another draught of full powers to have sent to your Majesty this evening; but conferring with the French minister, I found he had altered his mind, and that he was willing to sign the paper of preliminaries, as concessions made by his Master, without any engagement on your Majesty's part. He barely desires, that at
the

the foot of the paper which he signs, a secretary of state may write, by your Majesty's command, some acceptance of these articles, and some promise to set the general treaty on foot.

I will not fail to-morrow, when I hope this matter will be finished, to give your Majesty an account of all proceedings in it. The paper to be sent into Holland will be at the same time ready.

An Ostend post being arrived, I inclose an extract of the news contained in my letters.

I am, with the humblest respect, and utmost zeal, Madam, your Majesty's, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, Sept. 25th, 1711.

THIS day, and part of the night, has been spent in getting ready the new form, in which Monsieur Mesnager proposes to sign the preliminary terms on the part of his master; and I now have the honour to transmit, which I hoped to have done sooner, an exact copy of the whole instrument, with the authority annexed for my Lord Dart-

mouth and myself to sign on the part of your Majesty. God forbid that I should presume to set my hand to any declaration of your Majesty's pleasure, without your leave first obtained. I ask pardon if any mistake of expression in my letter tended that way.

On the return of this messenger, we may be able, I hope, to finish with Monsieur Mesnager; and I beg leave to add, that this agreement contains more advantages for your Majesty's kingdoms, than were ever, perhaps, stipulated for any nation at one time. As soon as I see when I can bring this gentleman to Windsor, I will not fail to obey your Majesty's orders, and to give you notice of it.

I take the liberty, besides the extract of what our office letters bring, to trouble your Majesty with a private letter from the Duke of Marlborough, and the papers which came inclosed in it; if the project * has been disappointed, it has not been so by your Majesty, who gave orders for readily entering into the necessary measures on your

* Upon the taking of Bouchain, the Duke of Marlborough proposed the siege of Quesnoy, to which the States-General objected, on account of the advanced season of the year.

part. However, it is of some use to have my Lord Marlborough's confession, that we may be disabled from doing any thing the next year, and that the enemy may, perhaps, be in a condition to act offensively.

If your Majesty is pleased to approve the declaration which I drew to-day, at the Committee of Lords, it will be necessary that the order to my Lord Dartmouth and myself, be signed by your Majesty at top and bottom, in the manner of instructions.

I am, with the utmost respect and duty,
Madam, Your Majesty's, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, Sept. 26th, 1711.

THE Lords spent the morning in dispatching a great many heads of home and other business. The evening has been employed by them, in conferring with the Earl of Strafford, upon the heads of his instructions, who may, I hope, be ready to receive your Majesty's final orders, and to proceed to Holland, in the very beginning of the next week. To-morrow morning, at ten,

my Lord Dartmouth and I shall meet Monsieur Mesnager, to see him sign the articles, and, pursuant to your Majesty's commands, to sign the declaration ourselves.

The inclosed extract contains all the news which came by the post we received this morning, except what a man, who is now at Versailles, writes to me, that the Pope has offered to the French King, a retreat for the Pretender at Rome. I am, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, Sept. 27th, 1711.

I HAVE the pleasure to acquaint your Majesty that the instruments* were this day signed; and that the paper for Holland is likewise

* “ Réponse de la France aux demandes préliminaires pour la Grande Bretagne plus particulièrement.

“ Le Roi étant particulièrement informé par le dernier mémoire, que les Ministres de la Grande Bretagne ont remis au Sieur Mesnager, des dispositions de cette Couronne à faciliter la paix générale, à la satisfaction de toutes les parties intéressées dans la présente guerre; & sa Majesté voyant effectivement, ainsi que le porte ce même mémoire, qu'elle ne risque rien en s'engageant de la manière qu'il y est exprimé, puisque les articles préliminaires n'auront aucun effet avant la signature de la paix générale, desirant d'ailleurs très sincèrement de faire tout ce qui est en son pouvoir pour avancer le rétablissement du repos de l'Europe, principalement par une voie aussi agréable

likewise settled in the manner your Majesty desired to have it*.

Monfieur

able à fa Majesté, que le fera l'entremise d'une Princesse, que tant de liaisons de sang doivent unir avec elle, & dont les sentimens pour la tranquillité publique ne sauroient être douteux. Sa Majesté, touchée par ces considérations, a ordonné au Sieur Mefnager, Chevalier de son ordre de St. Michael, Deputé au Conseil de Commerce, de faire par écrit les réponses suivantes aux articles contenus dans le mémoire qui lui a été remis, & qui sont intitulés—Demandes Préliminaires pour la Grande Bretagne plus particulièrement.

“ Réponses du Roi.

“ (1.) Sa Majesté reconnoîtra la Reine de la Grande Bretagne en cette qualité aussi bien que la succession à cette Couronne suivant l'établissement présent.

“ (2.) Le Roi consent à faire un nouveau traité de commerce avec la Grande Bretagne de la manière la plus juste, la plus raisonnable, & la plus avantageuse à la France & à la Grande Bretagne.

“ (3.) Quoique Dunquerque ait coûté au Roi des sommes très grandes tant pour l'acquérir que pour le fortifier; & qu'il soit nécessaire de faire encore une dépense très considérable pour en raser les ouvrages, sa Majesté veut bien toutefois s'engager à les faire démolir immédiatement après la conclusion de la paix, à condition qu'il lui sera donné pour les fortifications de cette

“ Demandes Préliminaires pour la Grande Bretagne particulièrement.

“ (1.) La succession à la couronne de ces royaumes selon l'établissement présent sera reconnue.

“ (2.) Un nouveau traité de commerce entre la Grande Bretagne & la France sera fait de la manière la plus juste & raisonnable.

“ (3.) Dunquerque sera démolie.

* This is inserted in a note to the Letter to Lord Strafford, dated 12th October, 1711.

Monsieur Mefnager will be to-morrow, in the evening, at Windfor, to pay his compliments to your Majesty: I will not fail to attend some hours before him.

I am, Madam, &c.

To

place un équivalent convenable, & dont elle soit contente; & comme l'Angleterre ne peut fournir le dit équivalent, la discussion en sera remise aux conférences qui se tiendront pour la négociation de la paix générale.

“(4.) Le Roi promet au nom du Roi d'Espagne, son petit-fils, & suivant le pourvoir que sa Majesté en a reçu de ce Prince, que Gibraltar & le port Mahon demeureront entre les mains des Anglois, qui possèdent présentement l'un & l'autre.

“(5.) Les Anglois auront, après la paix conclue, le traité de négres de Guinée aux Indes Occidentales, autrement le Pacte d'Assiento, aux mêmes conditions que cette convention a été faite par le Roi d'Espagne avec les François, en sorte que la compagnie qui sera établie pour cet effet en Angleterre, aura la prérogative de faire reposer, vendre, & débiter les négres dans toutes les places & ports de l'Amérique, sur la Mer du Nord, dans celui de Buenos Ayres, & généralement dans toutes les places & ports dont l'entrée étoit permise aux vais-

“(4.) Gibraltar & le port Mahon resteront entre les mains de ceux qui les possèdent présentement.

“(5.) Le Pacte d'Assiento sera fait avec les Anglois de la même manière que les François le possèdent à présent, & telles places dans l'Amérique Espagnole seront assignées aux intéressées dans le commerce, pour le rafraichissement & vente de leurs négres qui seront trouvées nécessaires & convenables.

To the Duke of Marlborough.

MY LORD,

Windfor Castle, Sept. 29th, 1711.

I KEPT Collins from returning to your Grace till now, that I might be able to take her Majesty's pleasure more exactly, and
to

seaux de la compagnie formée en France sous le nom de l'Asiento.

“(6.) Le Roi promet pour lui-même, & pour le Roi d'Espagne, suivant le pouvoir qui est entre les mains de sa Majesté, que cet article sera accordé en cas de la conclusion de la paix, comme les précédens, & qu'il sera ponctuellement exécuté.

“(6.) Tous les avantages, droits, & privilèges, qui sont déjà accordés, ou qui pourront être accordés dorénavant par l'Espagne aux sujets de la France, ou de quelque autre nation que ce soit, seront pareillement accordés aux sujets de la Grande Bretagne.

“(7.) Et pour mieux protéger le commerce dans l'Amérique Espagnole, on y mettra les Anglois en possession de telles places qui seront nommées dans le traité de paix. La France ayant offert une sûreté réelle pour le commerce des sujets de la Reine de la Grande Bretagne dans l'Amérique Espagnole, on n'a jamais doute qu'elle n'entendit par-là des places; & l'on a été confirmé dans cette opinion, vu qu'elle a proposé Gibraltar comme une sûreté pour le commerce d'Espagne & de la Méditerranée, les avantages & les privilèges offerts par le Sieur Mesnager ne doivent pas être regardées comme des sûretés réelles,
parce

to write more fully to you, on the important subject of your Grace's two letters, of the

parce qu'il sera toujours dans le pouvoir de l'Espagne de les reprendre; c'est pourquoi l'on croit que la France est dans l'obligation, ou de faire céder à la Grande Bretagne les places demandées dans cet article, ou de lui procurer de nouveaux avantages, tels que l'amour de la paix puisse faire accepter comme un équivalent; sur quoi on se trouve obligé d'insister que ce ministre soit muni d'un pouvoir suffisant. Et pour marquer d'autant mieux la sincérité avec laquelle on traite, & le desir que sa Majesté de la Grande Bretagne a d'avancer la paix générale, elle a trouvé à propos de déclarer que la difficulté survenue sur cet article pourra être levée en lui accordant les articles suivants :

“ Quoique le Roi d'Espagne, au commencement de son règne, fût porté à favoriser la nation François, qu'il eut besoin des secours d'argent, pour subvenir aux frais d'une guerre imminente; le Prince nonobstant ces considérations n'accorda que pour dix ans aux François le privilège de la traite de négres, ce seroit beaucoup faire en faveur des Anglois, que de laisser pendant vingt ans entre les mains de la nation Angloise, une prérogative dont il semble que toutes les nations de l'Europe voudront jouir

“ Que le pacte d'Assiento soit fait avec la Grande Bretagne pour le terme de trente ans.

chacune

the 28th of September, and of the 1st of October, N.S.

The

chacune à leur tour. Toutefois le Roi promet que le Roi, son petit fils, laissera aux Anglois, pendant trente années consécutives, la traite des négres de Guinée aux Indes Occidentales, autrement le Pacte d'Assiento, aux mêmes conditions, prérogatives, & privilèges accordés à la compagnie Française, & dont elle a joui, ou dû jouir depuis le premier de Mai, de l'année 1702, qu'à présent.

“ Le Roi accordera cet article.

“ Sa Majesté promet pareillement au nom du Roi d'Espagne les avantages & exemptions de droits dont il est fait mention dans cet article, & dont les Anglois jouiront immédiatement après la conclusion de la paix, à l'échange des ratifications.

“ La paix générale étant faite, il sera assigné à la compagnie Angloise de l'Assiento une étendue de terrain dans la rivière de la Plata, sur lequel elle pourra non-seulement rafraichir ses négres, mais les garder en sureté, jusqu'à ce qu'ils soient vendus, suivant les conditions stipulées par la convention qui doit être passée pour l'Assiento. Et pour empêcher qu'il ne soit abusé de cette permission, le Roi d'Espagne nommera un officier

“ Que l'isle entière de St. Christophe soit assurée à la Grande Bretagne.

“ Que les avantages & exemptions de droits promis par le Sieur Mesnager, & qu'il prétend devoir monter à quinze pour cent de profit sur toutes les marchandises du crû & de la manufacture de la Grande Bretagne, lui soient effectivement accordés.

“ La Grande Bretagne peut rafraichir à la Jamaïque ses négres, & y faire la distribution de ceux qu'elle enverra à la Vera Cruz, à Portobello, & aux autres comptoirs dans cette partie des Indes. Mais comme du côté de la rivière de Plate elle n'est en possession d'aucune colonie, on demande qu'il lui soit assigné dans cette rivière quelque étendue de terrain, sur lequel elle pourra non seulement rafraichir ses négres, mais les garder en sureté jusqu'à ce

The Queen, my Lord, has heard your Grace's letter to me, those of my Lord Albemarle

pour y veiller, à l'inspection duquel les intéressés à la dite compagnie, & généralement tous ceux qu'ils emploieront pour en faire le service, seront soumis.

" (8.) La discussion de cet article sera remise aux conférences générales de la paix, bien entendu que la faculté de pêcher & de tcher la morue sur l'Isle de Terre Neuve sera réservée aux François.

à ce qu'ils soient vendus aux Espagnols; & comme on n'entend aucune finesse en faisant cette demande, on se soumettra à cet égard à l'inspection de l'officier qui sera nommé à cette fin par l'Espagne.

" (8.) La Terre Neuve, la Baie & les Détroits de Hudson, seront entièrement restitués aux Anglois. La Grande Bretagne & la France garderont & posséderont respectivement tous les pais, domaines, & territoires dans l'Amérique septentrionale que chacune de ces nations possèdera au tems que la ratification de ce traité sera publiée dans ces parties du monde.

" En exécution des ordres du Roi, nous soussigné, Chevalier de son ordre de St. Michel, Député du Conseil de Commerce, avons arrêté les présentes réponses aux demandes préliminaires pour la Grande Bretagne, au nombre de huit articles, en vertu du pouvoir de sa Majesté dont nous avons fourni la copie signée de notre main, & promettons au nom de sa dite Majesté, que les dites réponses seront regardées comme conditions qu'elle convient d'accorder, dont les articles seront rédigés dans la forme ordinaire des traités, & expliqués de la manière la plus nette & la plus intelligible, à la satisfaction commune des Couronnes de la France & de la Grande Bretagne, & ce en cas de signature du traité de la paix générale. En foi de quoi nous avons signé & mis le cachet de nos armes. Fait, &c.

" Le Roi très Chrétien ayant témoigné à la Reine le desir sincère qu'il a de voir rétablir la tranquillité générale de l'Europe par une paix définitive, sûre, & durable, & convenable aux intérêts de tous les alliés, & ayant souhaité que la Reine voulut avancer la négociation d'une telle paix, il a été trouvé juste & raisonnable que les intérêts de la Grande Bretagne fussent

bemarle to you, and the resolution of the States of the 28th of this month, read; and her Majesty commands me to observe to your Grace, that the considerations urged by the Dutch are arguments against the project, not only with regard to the expence of it, but also to the practicability, or even to the expediency of it. To what this

fussent en premier lieu ajustés & assurés; pour cet effet le Roi très Chrétien ayant envoyé le Sieur Mesnager, Chevalier de son ordre de St. Michel, & Député du Conseil de Commerce, il a arrêté les articles susmentionnés au nombre de huit, en vertu du pouvoir de sa Majesté Très Chrétien, dont il nous a fourni la copie, signée de sa main; lesquels articles, nous soussignés déclarons, en vertu d'un ordre exprès de sa Majesté, qu'elle accepte comme articles préliminaires, qui ne contiennent que des sûretés & des avantages que sa Majesté se croit en droit d'attendre, quiconque soit le Prince qui aura en partage la monarchie d'Espagne. Et ces articles doivent être regardés comme conditions que sa Majesté très Chrétien convient d'accorder; lesquels articles seront rédigés dans la forme ordinaire des traités, & expliqués de la manière la plus nette, & la plus intelligible, à la satisfaction commune des Couronnes de la Grande Bretagne & de la France. Et ce seulement en cas de signature de la paix générale. En foi de quoi nous avons signé, & mis les cachets de nos armes. Fait," &c.

Mem. This instrument was writ fair, and concluded in the following manner:

" Fait à Londres, le vingt septième Septembre, vieux stile, & du nouveau le huitième Octobre, mille sept cents onze.

(L.S.) " DARTMOUTH.

(L.S.) " H. ST. JOHN."

N.B. Before the words " Le Roi très Chrétien ayant témoigné," Monsieur Mesnager signed in the following manner, " Fait," &c. as above:

(L.S.) " MESNAGER."

fatality

fatality should be owing, the Queen is ignorant, but she is very much resolved that, on her own part, nothing shall be omitted which may tend to put into execution a design of so great importance, and of so promising an appearance.

Your Grace may therefore let the ministers in Holland know, and my Lord Strafford, who goes back on Monday or Tuesday next, at the farthest, will have the same directions, that the Queen will not only bear her proportion of the extraordinary expence of forage; but likewise contribute to the charge of stables, barracks, and those other incidents, which naturally ought not to be placed to her account. Your Grace will make the Dutch understand, that her Majesty agrees to this extraordinary expence, on condition that they do effectually remove all obstructions to the operations, wherein it is designed to employ this body of troops during the winter. Particularly, her majesty expects that the article in the treaty of contributions, referred to in the resolution of the States, shall be entirely laid aside, since it is at all times dishonourable, as well as prejudicial;

dicial; and since it is absolutely destructive of the great end proposed in your Grace's scheme.

If the states will comply with her Majesty's desires, and follow that example which she sets them, your Grace is to make the best bargains you can for the Queen's part of the charge, and my Lord Treasurer will not fail to remit the money necessary for carrying this service on.

Her Majesty is likewise willing to concur in obliging the Spanish provinces to subsidise the eighteen Imperial squadrons, proposed to be taken from the Upper Rhine. I write to the Earl of Orrery to act in this matter accordingly.

Your Grace sees plainly, that as you have neglected nothing on your part to bring a project to bear, from the success of which you have the greatest expectations, so the Queen receives the law in every article from the Dutch, and complies with all their demands, insisting singly on that, without which the whole must become ineffectual.

The secret was, in your Grace's opinion, necessary, and here it has been kept inviolate; but, on the contrary, in Holland,

every soul knows it ; D'Ayrolle, in his letters, speaks of it, and I have seen those who only passed through the Hague in their way hither, and were as much instructed as myself almost in every circumstance.

Windsor, Sept. 30th, 1711.

I have deferred finishing this letter till now, that I might have first the opportunity of laying before her Majesty that which I received from your Grace yesterday, which I did this evening in council. The Queen fees no reason to alter her former orders. She looks on the matter to be entirely settled on her part, and hopes that no more unreasonable delays will happen on the side of the Dutch.

My Lord Treasurer has taken measures, and given directions to Mr. Bridges, about the remittances.

I am, with great respect, &c.*

* Here closed the correspondence of the Duke and her Majesty's Ministers. The preliminaries of peace were signed, in which he was not consulted, and his high mind, long accustomed to direct the British cabinet, conceived a disgust which hurried him into all the violent measures of the opposite party.

To the Earl of Orrery.

MY LORD,

Windfor Castle, Sept. 30th, 1711.

I HAVE this evening received the Queen's commands to let your Lordship know, that it is her pleasure that you endeavour, in concert with the Dutch ministers, to prevail on the Spanish Low Countries to receive, and assist in subsisting, eighteen squadrons of Imperial horse, which it is proposed should take winter-quarters in that country. As this is an article of a project on which the Duke of Marlborough lays so much stress as to judge that the event of the war turns upon it, your Lordship may be sure that her Majesty desires nothing in her power may be omitted, which can conduce to the success of it.

I must refer you for farther information to the Duke of Marlborough, from whom you will not fail to hear if the design goes on.

Your letter of the 8th of October, N.S. came to my hands yesterday; but I have, at present, only time to add, that I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

A Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Whitehall, ce 2me d'Octobre, 1711.

CETTE lettre vous sera présentée par M. Mefnager, qui après s'être acquitté de la commission que le roi lui a confié, retourne auprès de vous pour rendre compte de sa négociation.

Je ne doute nullement que vous ne ressentiez le même plaisir que nous, en voyant aplanir les difficultés, qui se sont depuis long-tems opposées au rétablissement de la tranquillité publique.

J'oserois, Monsieur, vous assurer d'une bonne foi, & d'une facilité, qui soutenues par les mêmes dispositions de la part de la France, ne pourront pas manquer de produire le bon effet que nous en attendons ; mais ces fortes d'assurances doivent être regardées comme très inutiles, après celles que sa Majesté a bien voulu donner de bouche à Monsieur Mefnager.

Le Comte de Strafford partira après demain pour la Hollande. Votre ministre est pleinement instruit de ce qu'il proposera aux Etats.

Je suis, Monsieur, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, October 2d, 1711.

MY Lords met this morning at the cockpit, and after dispatching the current business, they saw the Earl of Strafford, to whom they explained several heads on which your Majesty's orders have been formerly given, and which will probably, at the Hague, come again before him. They likewise agreed upon an additional instruction which may be necessary to save time, and which comes inclosed for your Majesty's approbation.

We have received this day, by the Ostend mail, Brussels letters of the 9th, N.S. but they have no article of news in them.

The letters of cachet which your Majesty signed some time since, will, I find, on perusing them, serve for the present commission which my Lord Rivers goes upon; so that there is no need of troubling your Majesty to sign any others.

The papers which he is to take with him will be ready to-morrow, and on Thursday.

both he and my Lord Strafford will be going.

I am, with all possible respect,

Madam, &c.

To Mr. Harrison.

S I R,

Whitehall, October 9th, 1711.

YOUR letter of the 6th, N.S. came, by what accident I know not, several days later than it should have done, to my hands. I thank you for the pains you took, at my request, in endeavouring to find from what quarter Corticelli received the libel, and by whose direction he conveyed it to the printer. I am so firmly of opinion that he acted in pursuance to orders which he received from hence, that I have troubled my Lord Ambassador on the subject.

You will, by the time this letter can come to you, be informed of the Queen's resolution to set a treaty of peace on foot; since you are so near to my Lord Strafford, you can stand little in need of any informations or instructions from me. I will, however,

ever, venture to say, that I think you and every other person, who has any relation to public business, ought, upon this occasion, to speak plainly, where it may be of use. The Queen has supported a ten years' war, wherein her interests were at most but remotely concerned, with all the vigour of a principal, and with all the sacrifices which might be expected from a frontier state, from a prince who fought *pro aris et focis*; the burden has every year been increased, without proportion, upon her. She finds, at last, her kingdoms no longer able to continue under such pressures; she thinks, therefore, that she is obliged, in justice even to the allies, to declare that it is time to conclude a peace. In the carrying of which negociation forward, as she will not neglect the interest of her own dominions, so she will support the confederates in all their just demands, and consent to no treaty, wherein they shall not find their reasonable satisfaction.

It is evident that peace is become so indispensibly necessary to all parties, that the endeavours which may be used to break the present negociation off, will not be looked

upon here as the effect of a resolution to carry on the war, but as the effect of an apprehension which some people may entertain, that the Queen, by beginning and promoting the treaty, has stipulated more advantageous terms for Great Britain than used to be aimed at. If the Queen has done so, it is no more than what the share she has had in the war may justly entitle her to; and no person can have a fair pretence to object upon this account, when her servants do, by her order and in her name, repeat their declarations, that no advantage shall induce her Majesty to lay down her arms, till the ends of the grand alliance are obtained.

You will do well to consider particularly the eighth article of that treaty*, and to observe

* Which is as follows:

“ When the war is once undertaken, none of the parties shall have the liberty to enter upon a treaty of peace with the enemy, but jointly and in concert with the others; nor is peace to be made, without having first obtained a just and reasonable satisfaction for his Cæsarean Majesty, and for his Royal Majesty of Great Britain, and a particular security to the Lords the States-General of their dominions, provinces, titles, navigation, and commerce; and a sufficient provision, that the kingdoms of France and Spain be never united, or come under the government of the same person, or that the same man may never be king of both kingdoms; and particularly that the French may never be in possession of the

observe how remote the sober prudent views, in which this war was undertaken, are from those romantic schemes which private interest formed, and which the sanguine temper, to which the minds of men had, by miraculous successes, been wrought, made them capable of embracing.

I have a brother in Holland, who is to continue there this winter, unless the treaty of peace should be carried to another place. In all cases, he will be where you are, and I must desire your assistance and advice to him; he is young and unexperienced; I hope he has an inclination to improve.

I am, with very sincere affection,

Sir, your's, &c.

the Spanish West Indies; and that they may not have the liberty of navigation for conveniency of trade, under any pretence whatever, neither directly nor indirectly; except it is agreed, that the subjects of Great Britain and Holland may have full power to use and enjoy all the same privileges, rights, immunities, and liberties of commerce, by land and sea, in Spain, in the Mediterranean, and in all the places and countries which the late king of Spain, at the time of his death, was in possession of, as well in Europe as elsewhere, as they did then use and enjoy; or which the subjects of both or each nation, could use and enjoy, by virtue of any right, obtained before the death of the said king of Spain, either by treaties, conventions, custom, or any other way whatsoever."

To the Earl of Orrery.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, October 9, 1711.

YOU will have seen, by a former letter of mine, that I was very far from forgetting the command which you laid, some time ago, upon me, and which you have now repeated. I spoke to the Queen concerning your leave to come this winter hither, and her Majesty had no objection to it; but I thought if you received it any time before the sitting of parliament, it would be sufficient. On Sunday I will not fail to take the Queen's pleasure herein, and you may expect by the Ostend mail of Monday, and by the Dutch mail of Tuesday, to hear from me.

Upon the Earl of Strafford's arrival at the Hague, the rumour about propositions made by France will be cleared; and since peace, and the manner of treating it, will become the subject of all conversations, I think it necessary to say something to your Lordship of her Majesty's intentions upon that head, and of the measures by which she has thought fit to direct her conduct.

The state of these kingdoms with respect to
the

the war, your Lordship is so well apprized of, that you want no information from me; the state of the confederacy, and the alteration made in the system of war, by the Emperor's death*, your Lordship is, no doubt, master of; and I dare say that the necessity of a peace, resulting from these considerations, is very apparent to you. The Queen, my Lord, was of this mind; and therefore when France applied to her, and desired that she would set on foot a general negociation, she embraced that proposition with as much readiness as was consistent with the proper caution of not seeming over-fond of a peace, or over-tired of the war. France would, you may be sure, willingly have treated, by way of preliminary, with her Majesty, concerning the interests of the several allies; but the Queen was very far from taking the least step which might look like a separate negociation, or which might preclude any party, engaged in the confederacy, from advancing their pretensions. She insisted to have such general offers made by the enemy, as may give room to all the allies to negotiate for

* By which, had the object of the war continued to be the placing the crown of Spain on the head of Charles VI, the Imperial and Spanish crowns would have been united.

themselves;

themselves ; and she declares that she will support them in all reasonable demands throughout the whole course of the negotiation.

She desires the treaty may be carried on somewhere in Holland, or in the adjacent countries, for the greater conveniency of her allies ; and she hopes it may be concluded to their common satisfaction. Should the enemy refuse to comply with their reasonable demands, no advantage which can be proposed to the Queen, no necessity which she may be under, will be able to induce her Majesty to make an unsafe or dishonourable end of the war, which she has with so much glory sustained.

After this, the Queen thinks that she may expect her allies should comply with her in war or in peace. The disproportionate manner in which the former has been managed she can no longer bear ; and she makes this declaration, that she may neither deceive herself nor them.

We expect to find great opposition to the opening of the conferences from some quarters, upon state topics ; but the true ground of this opposition, we imagine, will be the
appre-

apprehension which has been entertained of advantages yielded to the Queen by the enemy; and you know, my Lord, that we have friends who have easily taken alarms of this kind.

In short, her Majesty, who is convinced that a peace is necessary for every one, except such as contribute nothing, and get a great deal by the war; who judges that it is at least as fit for her as for any party engaged to promote and take the lead of a negotiation; and who is conscious to herself of having acted in the fairest and the most generous manner towards her confederates, despises the clamour which has been raised, fears not that which she foresees will be raised, and pursues steadily a measure, which she had maturely debated before she acted upon it.

I may very probably write more fully and more plainly to your Lordship upon this subject in a short time.

I am, with true friendship,

My Lord, &c

To Mr. Scott.

S I R,

Whitehall, October 9, 1711.

HAVING nothing to write to you upon, by this post, in an office-letter, I shall only give you the trouble of a private one.

Your thoughts are very agreeable to those of the ministers concerning the necessity of a peace, from the consideration of the Northern affairs, as well as from divers other unanswerable reasons; but you will give me leave to desire you, when you have occasion to go out of the road of business, or to speak of any matter which may be nice, and not fit for common perusal, to throw your thoughts into a letter distinct from that of the office. The latter is not entirely mine, whilst I am Secretary; and whenever I go out, it passes to my successor, and so on, to God knows who.

By observing the method I mention, you may write with the greatest freedom, and you will run no risque of having your sentiments on any fact, which should be kept secret, disclosed.

I believe the commission which Lord Strafford is to execute at his arrival at the Hague, will occasion many reflections where you are, as well as every where else. The proper language for her Majesty's servants to speak every where upon that occasion, I think, is, that the Queen, at whose expence chiefly the war is supported, may very naturally take upon her to insist that conferences should be opened, and that it should be tried whether the enemy will, in particulars, be as reasonable as they are in generals.

I hope to hear, by your next letters, some accounts which may enable us to judge of our interest a little better than we can at present, with regard to the Northern war.

I am, Sir, your most faithful, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, October 12, 1711.

I SHALL not give you, by this post, the trouble of an office-letter; but you must allow me to send you an account of such facts as have happened, and of such thoughts
as

as have occurred to me, since I writ to you upon that important subject, which your Excellency is at this time beginning to treat*.

My

* “ Instructions for our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Councillor, Thomas, Earl of Strafford, our Ambassador-extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries.

“ Upon your arrival in Holland (whither you are to repair with all possible diligence) you shall take the first opportunity of conferring with the Pensionary, and of informing him, that we have sent you back as soon as some matters of the greatest moment were ripe and fit to be laid before our good friends and allies, the States-General.

“ You are to represent to this minister, and to such others as shall be appointed to confer with you, that when we received, in the month of May last, by your dispatches to us, an account of the sense which those among them, who were at that time in the secret, had of the overtures made by France for settling a negociation of peace again on foot, and of the answer which it was desired might be returned to the propositions signed by Monsieur de Torcy, we did immediately acquaint the enemy, that their offers were thought by us, and by the States-General, neither particular nor full enough; and therefore we did insist, that they should form a distinct project of such a peace as they were willing to conclude.

“ You are further to inform the Dutch ministers, that this affair being transacted by papers sent backward and forward, and much time being lost in this dilatory method, we did at last think fit to send to the court of France, in order to have from thence some more certain account of the dispositions towards peace, and of the terms on which they might be willing to make it.

“ That the French did hereupon send over a person with power to treat, and to settle some preliminary articles to a general negociation. But that this person being neither fully instructed, nor sufficiently impowered, a still further delay was created, and it became absolutely necessary to allow him to send to his court for more ample instructions. We being determined on our part, according to the desire of the Pensionary, and of the other ministers, to leave nothing undone which might

My Lord Dartmouth and your humble servant began, as soon as the Windsor journey

might bring the French to be more direct and particular in their overtures.

“ You are to communicate to the Pensionary, and to the ministers you confer with, the paper herewith delivered to you, signed by Monsieur Mesnager, an old acquaintance of theirs, and one with whom they have formerly treated; representing to them, that, though the several articles do not contain such particular concessions as France must, and to be sure will make, yet they are, in our opinion, a sufficient foundation whereupon to open the conferences.

“ That we were unwilling to take upon ourselves to determine the several interests of our allies, and did therefore resolve to content ourselves with such general offers as might include all the particular demands proper to be made in the course of the negociation; during which, it must be the most careful endeavour, and the fixed principle of all the confederates, to hold fast together, in order to obtain from the enemy the utmost which can be hoped for in the present circumstances of affairs. And this rule, you may assure them, that we shall, on our part, firmly adhere to.

“ If upon this, or upon any other occasion, the ministers of Holland shall express their uneasiness lest we should have settled the interests of these our kingdoms in a future peace, by any private agreement, you are to say, that we have refused to suffer the treaty to be carried on in our own country, and that we shall still continue to do so, unless they constrain us to take another measure. That by this means the Dutch and all our allies will have the opportunity and the conveniency of treating and adjusting their different pretensions; in promoting of which we shall exert all that zeal for the common good, and for their particular advantage, which we are sure they do us the justice to confess that we have shown through the whole course of our reign.

“ You will further say, that you can take upon yourself to assure them, that we have made no stipulation for ourselves, which may clash with the interest of Holland. That those articles which we expect should be inserted in the future treaty of peace for the particular interest of Great Britain, are for the most part such as contain advantages which must either continue to the enemy, or be obtained by us. And also, that no concessions whatsoever can tempt us to embrace the blessings
of

ney was over, to communicate to the foreign ministers the paper which your Excellency carried

of peace, unless our good friends and allies, the States-General, have all reasonable satisfaction as to their barrier, as to their trade, and in all other respects.

“ These assurances being given in our name, you are to insinuate strongly to the ministers of Holland, how just reason we should have to be offended, and to look on the proceeding between them and us as very unequal, if they should pretend to have any further uneasiness upon this head. And we, being determined to accept of no advantages to ourselves repugnant to their interests, nor of any peace which may not be to their reasonable satisfaction, that the figure which we have made through the whole course of this war, and the part which we have acted in it, superior to what any of the allies, even those who are nearest to the danger, and in interest most deeply concerned, have done, might justly entitle us, if we should so think fit, in the first place, to adjust and settle the particular concerns of Great Britain, before we should consent to set the general negociation on foot.

“ If those engagements which we are under by our treaties, of making no peace but in concert with them, or the obligations of the barrier-treaty, are objected to you, you are to say, as to the first, that we have not in any sort acted contrary thereto; that we are so far from making a peace without their concurrence, that we have declared our firm resolution, not to make it without their satisfaction; and that all which has passed between France and us, amounts to no more than an introduction to a general negociation. As to the latter, you will represent very earnestly to them, how much it is for the interest even of Holland itself, rather to compound the advantages of the barrier-treaty, than to insist upon the whole, since it is notorious that the House of Austria, and several others of the allies, are, and must necessarily continue, utterly averse to it; and since you may yourself assure them, upon the observation which you have made during your stay here, that nothing can be more odious to the people of these kingdoms than many parts of this treaty; and that nothing has prevented that national and universal indignation which would have broke out upon this occasion, but the great care and industry which has been used to calm the minds of those who are acquainted with the terms of this guaranty, and to keep the same as secret as possible from those who are not yet apprized of them. You will epostulate further

carried with you, pursuant to her Majesty's

further with the ministers of Holland, by shewing the absolute necessity of entertaining a good harmony between the two nations, upon which not only their mutual safety in great measure depends, but without which there can, at no time, be formed a strength sufficient to reduce any exorbitant power, and to preserve the balance of Europe; and upon this foundation you will argue, that it is the true interest of neither country to insist on any conditions which may give just apprehensions to the other.

" You are to acquaint them that France proposes Utrecht, Nimeguen, Aix la Chapelle, and Liege, as places in any one of which the conferences may with conveniency be held; that we have refused to let the general treaty be carried on in our own country, and that we are ready to send our plenipotentiaries to such of these four towns as may be most agreeable to them.

" You are to conclude your conference by desiring that they will give all possible dispatch to the choice of a place of treaty, and that the passports to the French plenipotentiaries may be hastened; it being, in our opinion, of importance so to forward the progress of this great affair, that, on one hand, we may not be exposed to begin too late the preparations for the next campaign; nor, on the other, to put ourselves to an expence, which, in case the general treaty proceeds, will be unnecessary.

" And whereas, not only the Dutch, but the Imperial and other Ministers, may perhaps deny the paper herewith delivered to you to be a sufficient ground for opening the conferences upon, and may insist that France should consent to preliminary articles of the nature of those formed, and, on the part of the allies, signed in 1709; you are, in the first place, besides what is in these your instructions before-directed, to insinuate, that the French might very probably have been brought to explain themselves further, had they not perceived the extraordinary uneasiness, impatience, and jealousy, which, during their transactions with us, discovered themselves amongst our allies. You are afterwards, in our name, to declare to them, that if they are desirous to carry on the war, and determined to accept of no terms of peace inferior to those which have been formerly demanded, we are, on our part, ready to concur with them, and to continue to sacrifice the blood and treasure of our subjects, as we have hitherto done, for their greater advantage and security: but that we are in justice bound, neither to deceive ourselves

jeſty's commands*. The Count de Gallas†, who does not ſtir abroad, at leaſt to viſit the
Queen's

nor them, and do, therefore, by you, our Ambaſſador and Plenipotentiary, ſolemnly declare, that we can no longer bear that diſproportionate burden which has every year been increaſed upon us, nor that deficiency which our allies, in every part of the war, are guilty of: that it is evident, that the common effort muſt be ſtill greater againſt the enemy than it is, or that there will be no proſpect of arriving at thoſe ends which are propoſed: that therefore it is incumbent on them, if the war be continued, to furniſh, for the future, ſuch quotas of ſhips and forces as they are at this time wanting in, and to increaſe their expence, whiſt we reduce ours to ſuch a proportion as in reaſon and in juſtice both ſhould be ſettled at.

"If, on the part of the Miniſters of Vienna and of Holland, their inability to do more than they have hitherto done be urged in answer to you, our pleaſure is, that you finiſh by ſaying that we think we may juſtly inſiſt that they ſhould comply with us in war or in peace; ſince, in the former caſe, we require nothing but what it belongs to them to perform, and what is eſſential to the ſucceſs of our arms; and ſince, in the latter, we have done, and ſhall, to the laſt, continue to do, all that is in our power, towards obtaining ſuch a peace as may be to the ſatisfaction of all our allies.

"Given at our Court at Windſor, this firſt day of October, in the year 1711, and of our reign the tenth. "A. R."

(L.S.)

"ANNE, R.

"Additional Inſtruction to our right truſty, and right well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor, Thomas, Earl of Strafford, our Ambaſſadour-extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary, to the States-General of the United Provinces. Given at our Caſtle, at Windſor, the ſecond day of October, 1711, in the tenth year of our reign.

"Whereas, by an article in your inſtructions, bearing date the 1ſt inſtant, you are to conclude the conference which
you

* "Articles Préliminaires de la part de la France pour parvenir à la paix générale.

"Le

† The Imperial Miniſter.

Queen's servants, has writ a letter to Lord Dartmouth, wherein he treats the propositions

you shall have upon your arrival at the Hague, with the Ministers of the States-General, by desiring all possible dispatch may be given to the choice of a place of treaty, and that passports for the French Plenipotentiaries may be hastened :

"It is our further will and pleasure, that as soon as the said passports shall be promised, you do immediately give notice thereof by a courier to the Court of France ; or, if the States-General shall desire it of you, that you do send the said passports to the Marquis de Torcy. " A. R."

"Le Roi voulant contribuer de tout son pouvoir au rétablissement de la paix générale, sa Majesté déclare,

"*Premièrement*, Qu'elle reconnoitra la Reine de la Grande Bretagne en cette qualité, aussi-bien que la succession à cette couronne suivant l'établissement présent.

"*Secondement*, Qu'elle consentira volontairement & de bonne foi à prendre toutes les mesures justes & raisonnables, pour empêcher que les couronnes de France & d'Espagne soient jamais réunies sur la tête d'un même Prince ; sa Majesté étant persuadée que cet excès de puissance seroit contraire au bien & au repos de l'Europe.

"*Troisièmement*, L'intention du Roi est, que toutes les parties engagées dans la guerre présente, sans en excepter aucune, trouvent leur satisfaction raisonnable dans le traité de paix à faire. Que le commerce soit rétabli & maintenu désormais à l'avantage de la Grande Bretagne, de la Hollande, & des autres nations qui ont accoutumé de l'exercer.

"*Quatrièmement*, Comme le roi veut aussi maintenir exactement l'observation de la paix, lorsqu'elle aura été conclue, & que l'objet que sa Majesté se propose est d'assurer les frontières de son royaume, sans troubler, en quelque manière que ce soit, les états voisins, elle promet de convenir par le traité de paix futur, que les Hollandois auront entre leurs mains les places fortes, qui seront spécifiées dans les Pays-Bas, pour servir désormais de barrière, qui assure le repos de la République de Hollande, contre toute entreprise de la part de la France.

"*Cinquièmement*, Le roi consent aussi, qu'il soit formé à l'empire & à la maison d'Autriche une barrière sûre & convenable.

tions very slightly, and only condescends to take notice of them, because they were sent by her Majesty's order. He calls the whole proceeding an enigma, and, in short, speaks the language, which the impertinence of an Austrian minister, improved by the encouragement and conversation of a faucy faction, might make one expect. It shall be no fault of mine if he does not receive such a reply, as, by the decency of it, will give him reason to be ashamed, and as, by the resolution of it, will confound him.

“Sixièmement, Quoique Dunquerque ait coûté au Roi des sommes très grandes, tant pour l'acquérir que pour le fortifier, & qu'il soit nécessaire de faire encore une dépense très considérable pour enraiser les ouvrages; sa Majesté veut bien toutefois s'engager à les faire démolir immédiatement après la conclusion de la paix, à condition qu'il lui sera donné, pour les fortifications de cette place, un équivalent convenable, & dont elle soit contente; et comme l'Angleterre ne peut fournir le dit équivalent, la discussion en sera remise aux conférences qui se tiendront pour la négociation de la paix.

“Septièmement, Lorsque les conférences pour la négociation de la paix seront formées, on y discutera de bonne foi, & à l'amiable, toutes les prétensions des Princes & Etats engagés dans la présente guerre; et rien ne sera omis pour les régler & pour les terminer à la satisfaction de toutes les parties.

“En vertu du plein pouvoir du Roi, nous soussigné, Chevalier de son ordre de St. Michel, Député au Conseil de Commerce, avons arrêté au nom de sa Majesté les présents articles préliminaires, en foi de quoi nous avons signé. Fait à Londres, le vingt-septième Septembre, vieux style, & du nouveau le huitième Octobre, mille sept cents onze.

(L.S.)

“MESNAGER.”

Count Maffei is likewise a little in discontent, and desires some farther explanation and assurances of the Queen's intentions, with regard to the interests of his master; he objects that a barrier is promised to Holland, to the House of Austria, and to the Empire, against France, but that no mention is made of the same for the Duke of Savoy. That care is indeed taken, in the separate article, that such places shall be surrendered to him as may answer the ends of the treaty made with him; but that these are to be places in Italy; whereas those places and districts of country which are necessary to secure his master against the attempts of France, cannot be with propriety said to be in Italy. By these means, says this minister, my master will be excluded from insisting, at least from the hopes of obtaining the barrier, which his treaties import, and which is indispensibly necessary to preserve him in a condition of being useful to the common cause.

In this private letter, and in confidence, I may say to your Excellency, that I foresaw and made this very objection, and that I would have had those words *en Italie* left out;

in which case that article would have included any thing on the side of France, which, in the course of the negociation, might have been thought proper for the Duke of Savoy. But the rub is in the way; how it came there is an insignificant consideration; the question is, how shall it be removed? The Lords, this morning, at the cock-pit, debated the matter; and the turn which will, I believe, by their advice, and her Majesty's order, be given to it, is this, that her Majesty has declared she will consent to no peace without reasonable satisfaction to all her allies; that France has promised as much; that therefore every thing which concerns the Duke of Savoy's safety must be included in this expression; that the Queen, who has thought of aggrandizing his Royal Highness, could never mean to leave him exposed; that the propositions now made public are nothing more than principles, on which France declares herself ready to treat; that these are to be explained and extended in the general treaty, and many particulars inserted; in fine, that the Queen hopes a good understanding, between the ministers of the Duke and her own, will
continue

continue throughout all the future transactions of peace ; in which case, this umbrage will easily be removed, and his Royal Highness will be made both safer and greater. I must add upon this head that I think I discern at least as much intention to discover what reserved meaning we may have, what is to be hoped for from us, as what we have done.

Your Excellency sees, by this time, what the artifices are, which will be employed to hinder this negociation from succeeding, and our nation from rising above the character of a province to the alliance ; which character ambition and avarice brought upon us, and presumptuous folly has made us pride ourselves in, and value ourselves upon.

The Queen has determined to shake off those shackles which her retainers have fastened on her, to free her people from the oppression which they lie under, and at the same time to preserve both honour and decency towards her confederates. These are, my Lord, the principles on which your instructions are founded, and these are so suitable to your generous temper, to your high station, and to your noble birth, that I am

confident you will pursue them with all that firmness which the cause deserves and requires. I am, my Lord, &c.

To the Earl of Orrery.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, October 15, 1711.

I AM this moment returned from Windsor, where I put her Majesty in mind of your Lordship's desire to come over this winter, and the Queen has no objection to your doing so.

We are now in want of five posts; as soon as they arrive, it will be probably seen, whether there may be occasion to send your Lordship some fresh instructions, on a subject which my Lord Marlborough represents to be of the highest consequence, and which the Queen is determined to neglect, on her part, nothing to promote; after that I shall send you the Queen's leave in form.

You will probably have received a copy of the paper, which the Earl of Strafford is to communicate to the foreign ministers, at the Hague; and which, having been communicated to those who reside here, has been
rendered

rendered as public as the Daily Courant * can make it. I would only observe to your Lordship upon that paper, that it contains nothing more than such general offers on the part of France, as may fix the principles upon which the treaty is to be carried on ; so that no ally will be well grounded in objecting to it as not ample enough, or in finding fault that their particular interests are not secured. If it is a sufficient inducement, and the Queen thinks it is, to open the conferences for a peace, that is all that it was signed or communicated for.

Let me give your Lordship one hint more, before I end my letter ; the eighth article of the grand alliance of 1701, contains the points proposed to be obtained by this war : compare the two together. The grand alliance is an engagement upon the Queen, the preliminaries of 1709 are none.

Adieu, my dear Lord ; I am, &c.

* Count de Gallas, the Imperial Minister, sent it for insertion in the Daily Courant as soon as he received it.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, October the 17th, 1711.

I PRESUME to acquaint your Majesty, that besides the two Ostend mails which arrived yesterday, and by which there came nothing to my hands worth your Majesty's notice, we have this morning received two posts from Holland. The inclosed extract contains the advices of our office-letters; besides which, I beg leave to inform your Majesty of the following particulars :

Mr. Whitworth's Valet-de-chambre is come express from his master, whom he left at Carlbud, on the frontier of Bohemia; his letters are extremely judicious, and he has pursued his orders with great exactness and ability. They are very long, but the sum of them is, that the King of Denmark, King Augustus, and the Czar, seem determined to pursue their point against Sweden; and even that the King of Prussia and Elector of Hanover are entering into measures to get for themselves some of the spoils of that crown. Thus, the danger so long apprehended from the North, seems rather to increase

crease than lessen. Mr. Whitworth, however, adds that the Czar had in private assured him he would regulate his demands in concert with your Majesty, and continued desirous of your mediation.

I have sent all these papers to my Lord Privy Seal, that he may have time to consider them; the Northern business being what his Lordship is particularly master of*.

This moment I received a letter from Lord Strafford, dated on Tuesday last. He found Pensionary Buys waiting for a passage; to whom having opened himself a little, the Pensionary seemed very much embarrassed whether he should come forward, or go back to the Hague. I take it for granted that he did the latter, though my Lord does not say any thing of it.

The Earl Rivers was gone forward, and making the best of his way to the Elector†.

I have discovered the author of another scandalous libel, who will be in custody this

* Dr. John Robinson, Bishop of Bristol. He had been many years her Majesty's Resident at Stockholm, and the northern courts. He succeeded the Duke of Newcastle, as Lord Privy Seal, in 1711, and Dr. Compton, as Bishop of London, in 1713.

† Earl Rivers had been dispatched as Envoy to the court of Hanover, to communicate the steps taken to promote a negotiation for a peace.

afternoon;

afternoon; he will make the 13th I have seized, and the 15th I have found out.

The Post-masters General give me this minute notice, that Mr. Buys was on board the Eagle packet-boat, and landed, they believe, at Harwich, last night.

I expect hourly three posts more, and will not fail, as soon as they arrive, to communicate to your Majesty what they bring.

I am, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, October 17th, 1711.

THREE other Dutch posts are now arrived, and by them such articles of news as are in the extract inclosed. I have a letter from the Earl of Strafford, writ on Saturday last, in which he says that Mr. Buys was sent for back to the Hague on his arrival. A great consternation appeared at first in the Ministers of the States; but they take the pl of acquiescing to your Majesty's good pleasure, and Mr. Buys is instructed accordingly. I find the fear of losing the exorbitant barrier they have obtained, is the greatest, if not the
only

only check to them, and that will soon be removed when they are apprized of your Majesty's generous conduct, and kind inclinations towards them.

I have advice that Mr. Buys landed last night, and that he will be in town tomorrow.

I have several letters from Lord Marlborough, one of the 15th mentions the ill state of his health, and desires that your Majesty will please to order a convoy and the yatches for him. Another, of the 19th, is very extraordinary. I had taken notice in a letter, which I knew would be shown him again, of the impertinence of his chaplain, who published libels against your Majesty's government; he denies that the person suspected had wrote the book complained of, and then finds fault with the answer to it, forgetting that the sermon preached before himself, and since printed, was still worse and more seditious than the other paper.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Argyle.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Oct. 18, 1711.

HEARING Mr. Killigrew is to set out to-morrow, with the Earl of Dartmouth's dispatches for your Grace, I cannot neglect the opportunity of giving you a second trouble by the same conveyance; and long as my letter written in the last month is, you are like to have another from me. The letter which I received by Mr. Breton from your Grace, gives me one pretence, and the new turn which is likely to be given to the affairs of Europe, by the resolutions her Majesty has taken and declared, affords me another.

Inclosed, I transmit to your Grace, the general offers which France has made to the Queen, and which her Majesty has communicated to the allies, judging them sufficient inducements for us to open the conferences. The Queen would not take upon her to determine the particular interests of any one party in the war, and therefore contented herself to oblige France to sign such general principles as may include whatever the confederates have to demand.

In the course of the negociation each ally will advance and manage his own pretensions; the Queen will hold fast with them, and support them in all their demands, and conclude no peace without their reasonable satisfaction.

This the Queen thinks a much fairer method than for two Ministers of one power to treat solely with the enemy, and report what they please to the rest, according to what was practised at Gertruydenberg*; and she judges it more honourable to have France engaged by signing preliminaries, and herself and her allies free, than for her and them to sign, and the enemy afterwards refuse to proceed †.

Your Grace will please to observe, that the grand alliance is the foundation of the present war, and that we are strictly engaged to carry on the war no longer than till the several points mentioned in the eighth article of that can be obtained, every one of which is expressly promised in the

* This certainly occurred at Gertruydenberg, where the two Dutch Deputies, Buys and Vanderdussen, contrived to keep the whole negociation to themselves.

† The preliminaries of 1709 were signed by the British, Imperial, and Dutch Ministers; but the French negociator, De Torcy, refused his signature.

inclosed paper, and room left for any farther demands.

The preliminaries of 1709, do, indeed, establish quite another scheme; but as they are not obligatory upon us, so those may, who do in earnest intend to make a peace, be very well excused from pursuing the plan of those who only intended to strain for pretences of carrying on the war.

The Queen's present measures are founded on certain facts, which are too evident to be denied, and too important to be neglected.

The war must be pushed in one part, with at least equal vigour; in the rest, where it is now carried on, with greater; and in some, where it has not yet been thought of, it must be pushed: without these conditions it will be inevitable ruin to continue it any longer. The Queen has so long borne a disproportionate share of the burden, that she must, instead of increasing, lessen her expence; there is no prospect that the Dutch can be able to supply that deficiency, nor that the Imperial Court will be either able or willing to do it:—What, therefore, in good logic, is the inference?

The Court of Vienna, who seems to think
every

every thing due to it, and nothing from it—who would carry on the war to the end of the world, since they are at no expence, and claim almost the whole advantage—your Grace may be assured, begins already to be extremely alarmed; and as their Minister has been impertinent in his memorials here, it is not unlikely their General and others may be so where you are; for this reason, I have deduced this affair a little tediously, and for the same I hope you forgive me.

Lord Dartmouth writes to your Grace on a subject which is of the last importance, especially at this conjuncture, to the Queen's service; and though it may give you some trouble, and delay your return home for some short time, yet her Majesty is so persuaded of your zeal for her interest, and for that of Britain, that she is assured your Grace will set yourself with pleasure to the execution of these new orders.

Port Mahon and Gibraltar must not only be secured for the present, but they must be put into such a condition, and have such establishments made for them, as may render these places absolutely in the Queen's power

—as may settle the supplies necessary for them, notwithstanding their distance, in a certain method—and, in short, as may remedy for the future those gross abuses which, I doubt, have been committed in both. All ordinary means have been tried, all have proved ineffectual; the Queen therefore determined to make use of one which she persuades herself cannot fail. Your Grace is to go to Port Mahon; and as Gibraltar is too far out of your way, the Earl of Portmore is to go thither. By your direction, when you are upon the spot, every article which requires immediate dispatch will be provided for; and by your report, her Majesty will be able, once for all, to establish these fortresses under a good economy, and reasonable regulations.

I enter into no farther particulars, because my Lord Dartmouth had ample instructions to write to your Grace upon.

I sincerely long to embrace you at home, and am, with sincere respect and truth,

My Lord, your Grace's, &c.

To the Queen.

MADAM,

Whitehall, October 19th, 1711.

I THINK it my duty to acquaint your Majesty, that Pensionary Buys arrived last night at London, and has been this evening with me. It would be too tedious to trouble your Majesty with the whole detail of what passed between us, in a letter. I shall have the honour to do it to-morrow more conveniently, when I attend at Windsor.

The great point which he is to labour, is to convince your Majesty, that the method which you have taken is wrong, and that there can be no hopes of a good peace, unless particular preliminaries be, in the first place, settled. His drift is what your Majesty foresaw, to break off the present negociation, and to set a new one on foot, in the secret of which, from the beginning, his masters may be, either with, or, which they like better, without your Majesty. He is gone to my Lord Treasurer, from whom your Majesty will, I suppose, have a farther account.

I have at last in my hands the particulars and proofs of great part of the management of the Count de Gallas, some of which my Lord Treasurer did not long ago discover, and lay before your Majesty. Nothing can be more insolent and ungrateful to your Majesty, the great protectress of the Austrian family, more brutal to your servants, nor more villainous in its own nature, in every part. I hope the spy he employed is turned upon him, that what was intended to your Majesty's dishonour and prejudice, will have quite the contrary effect.

I am, with the utmost submission,
 Madam, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, October 19th, 1711.

MONSIEUR BUYS arrived in London last night, and has been this evening with me, so that I have little time for my dispatches, and shall confine myself to write to your Excellency upon the one great subject, wherein our all consists. He brought me, in the first place, a particular letter from the States

to myself; in the next, he proceeded to ask me *l'histoire de la négociation*. I took an air of frankness, and gave him the same detail of the several steps as is contained in your Excellency's instructions; he looked as if he believed me but by halves, and went to his next point, which was, a distinction between matter and method. He owned that the matter contained in the offers of France, was good, and that they do include all which the allies can ask or expect; but the method, he insisted, could never lead us to a good or speedy peace. The enemy, says he, mean only to divide; if preliminary articles are settled before-hand, that will not be possible; if all our interests are left loose to a general treaty, it will be easy. My answer, I am sure, was so: either these preliminaries must be treated by some particular allies, or by the whole body; if the first method is taken, those allies, whoever they are, assume more than they ought, and more than the Queen would do, who surely is as well entitled as the most considerable of them; if the latter course is followed, the enemy has as fair an opportunity, and as good a field, to break us in treating preliminaries for a peace, as

in treating the peace itself. We went no farther to-night, for I started nothing, and contented myself to follow him to-morrow; before I set out for Windsor, I am to wait on him at his lodgings.

He depends on his rhetoric, and thinks to impose; of which imagination he will certainly be the dupe. However, I understand the Queen's pleasure to be, that no affected delays should be yielded to. We shall pursue the intent, and use the terms of her Majesty's instructions to your Excellency. You will do the same on your side, and, in short, they must trust the Queen, and give her leave, once in her reign, to influence their councils.

I am ever, &c.

P.S. I forgot to mention to your Excellency, that I send you a copy of a letter* which I writ some time ago to Monsieur d'Hervart, and which I hear, by d'Ayrolle, has been handed about, receives a wrong turn, and makes much noise.

It contains nothing that I am ashamed to own, neither shall I have any farther concern, now it is in your hands. I could only

* 18th September, 1711.

with your Excellency would let Mr. Harrison drop to d'Hervart that I am informed of the indiscreet use he made of my correspondence.

To the Earl of Peterborough.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, October 19th, 1711.

I AM in daily expectation of writing to you safely, and therefore nakedly, by a courier who is to carry your Lordship's instructions from the Earl of Dartmouth's office. For this reason I have forbore, and do still forbear with the greater patience, communicating many points of importance to your Lordship.

Mr. Davenant* is arrived; I have read all the papers he was charged with, and have talked fully to him.

It is impossible to express the justice which your Lordship has done yourself and friends, as well as the service which you have done the Queen.

Inclosed, your Lordship will receive a copy of the offers made by France, and com-

* Henry Davenant, British Resident at Frankfort.

municated by the Queen's order both here, and at the Hague, to the Ministers of the Allies. Your Lordship will please to observe that they are general enough to include any demand that any party shall think fit to make.

The Queen would not take upon her to determine the interests of her confederates, or by accepting particular preliminaries, be reproached for having precluded any pretension whatsoever. Her Majesty thinks these propositions a sufficient inducement to open conferences for a general treaty, in the course of which she declares she will firmly adhere to her confederates, support them in all their demands, and consent to no peace which shall not be to their reasonable satisfaction.

As this measure is just, decent, and no more than the Queen's share in the war may give her ground to pursue, so she thinks herself founded to insist that the allies should comply with her, and try whether France is as well disposed as they pretend to be.

I am ever, my Lord, &c,

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, October 23d, 1711.

MONSIEUR BUYS had a private audience of the Queen on Sunday, at Windsor. His discourse was extremely long, but the substance of it may be contained in a very short paragraph.

He comes over, he says, instructed, by all possible means, to cultivate that good understanding which has, so much to the advantage of both, subsisted between the Queen and the States; and to endeavour to tie the bands by which the two nations are knit together, still more closely. He is ordered, he adds, to desire that her Majesty will join with his masters, in pressing the other allies to increase their efforts, and to act with greater vigour against France. But the principal point of his commission is, to represent the apprehensions of the States, that if conferences are opened, without specific preliminaries first obtained, the enemy may have too great advantage in the treaty, may draw it out into an immeasurable length, and break the confederates among themselves.

Her

Her Majesty heard him with great patience; and told him, in answer to what he had said, that his person was agreeable to her, that her people were so much overburdened with the war, that it was time to think, in good earnest, of peace; that she hoped the States would concur with her in forwarding this work, that her ministers should confer with him, and make their report, upon which she would give her answer to the representations which he had made.

This conference was to have been held to-day, but my Lord Treasurer being very much indisposed, it has been put off till to-morrow, at one o'clock. On Thursday, I shall attend the Queen, at Hampton-Court, to lay before her the result of it; and on Friday, Monsieur Buys will receive a positive answer, in her Majesty's name, which will be communicated to your Excellency by the post, and which will contain the Queen's fixed and ultimate resolution upon this great affair; I believe your Excellency is not at all at a loss what this will be.

It should be matter of some reflection to Monsieur Buys, to find upon his arrival, and upon the report that he comes to retard the

peace, the stocks sink from fourteen to six; we want a peace, and the sense of the nation is for it, whatever noise may be made about London, by those who find their private account in the universal calamity.—We act fairly towards our allies, as well as prudently for our own interest; and there is no minister the Queen has, who would not venture his all, if that was the case, to save his country, in this critical and, should it be lost, irretrievable conjuncture.

I think to send my next dispatches to your Excellency, by one of the Queen's messengers, since they are likely to be of the last importance, and since I know very little how far the post on your side is to be trusted.

I am ever, my Lord, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, 26th Oct. 1711.

I HAVE received all your Excellency's letters, both those by the post, and those by

* A public letter.

Barlow,

Barlow, the messenger, to the 31st of October, N.S.

They have been all laid before her Majesty, and considered by my Lords of the Council; and the manner in which your Excellency has conducted yourself, together with the points you have insisted upon, pursuant to your instructions, and the arguments you have used in defence thereof, are all approved.

On Sunday, as I acquainted your Excellency by a former letter, the Pensionary of Amsterdam had his audience of the Queen, at Windsor; and on Wednesday morning, according to her Majesty's appointment, his conference with the Lords at the Cockpit, which proved extremely long, and was to the following effect:

He began, by setting forth the desire which his masters have of maintaining, and by all possible means of improving, that good correspondence, which subsists between the two nations, which has been so advantageous to both, and which has been the great support of the common interest of Europe. In the next place, he spoke very largely of the great efforts made, in the
course

course of this war, by the Queen and by the States; owning at the same time, how little had been done, and how ill we had been treated by most of our confederates: and concluded by an earnest desire, that the Queen would concur with his masters, in pressing the several allies to act with greater vigour for the future.

The third head, and that to which the others were indeed only introductory, was the negociation of peace, and the communication given by your Excellency to the States, of the measures which her Majesty has taken, and of the method which she proposes to proceed in. After having said, in speaking to this point, that his masters were as much inclined to peace as the Queen, or any other party concerned could be; and after having made the same declaration to us, as Pensionary Heinsius made to your Lordship, that his country was not able to struggle longer under the present burden, he came to this point: that the only dispute between her Majesty and the States, was concerning the method of treating; that if the ministers of France should meet those of the allies, in a general congress,

gress, before the essential articles were first settled by specific preliminaries, the advantage would be too great on the enemy's side, since they are but one body, influenced by one council, and directed by one Prince; whereas, we are a confederacy of several powers, whose interests are not only distinct, but, in many cases, contrary to each other; that therefore the French Ministers would have a fair opportunity to divide us, whilst it would be impossible for us to break in upon them.

He observed farther, that preliminaries had been settled before the treaty of Ryswick; and that in all the *pour-parlers* with France, during the present war, there has been no dispute among the allies, whether they should insist upon preliminaries, nor any made by the French King whether he should grant them.

The Pensionary afterwards pulled out a copy of the paper, which your Excellency carried over, and having objected to the articles, as vague and uncertain, which he supposed we would not deny, he pretended to instance some of them as prejudicial.

The first expression he found fault with,
was

was that where it is said, *le commerce sera rétabli & maintenu désormais, &c.*

These words, he pretends, are calculated by France for a future chicane, and in order to deprive the Dutch of the tarif of 1664; because, he pretends to foresee, that the French Plenipotentiaries will expound *rétabli*, to signify no more than the restoration of trade to that condition it was in, immediately before the commencement of the present war.

The next article he objected to as prejudicial, was that of Dunkirk, which expresses that the fortifications shall be razed, without mentioning the destruction of the harbour; and grants even this upon condition of an equivalent, the specification of which equivalent will, according to Monsieur de Buys, be the occasion of difference between her Majesty and the States: since Holland will think it hard to have a town the less in their barrier, on account of the demolition of Dunkirk; and since Britain will be apt to complain, if this thorn should not be taken out of their side, for the sake of giving one town the more to the Dutch.

The last instance which he advanced, to
prove

prove the offers of France prejudicial, was that article wherein it is said, that effectual measures shall be taken to prevent the crowns of France and Spain from being ever united upon one head; to accept of this proposition, he affirmed, was to slide over that important point, and to make the cession of Spain for nothing. For these reasons, he hoped, her Majesty would be pleased to alter the method which she had taken, and to demand specific offers from the enemy, upon all the essential points for which we contend. France, he took it for granted, would make such offers; and then he thought it might be proper for the allies to debate, whether they would hazard a negotiation or not?

The fourth point of his instruction was, to recommend to her Majesty, that she would not suffer herself so far to be amused by a treaty of peace, as to neglect the necessary preparations for war; and that she would join with his masters in exhorting the several allies to act with greater rigour in the common cause.

Your Excellency will see by the inclosed copy of a letter, which I have writ this evening

evening to Monsieur Buys *, the substance of that answer, which was this morning given him at a conference with the Lords of the Council, by her Majesty's command; and I am directed to let your Excellency know, that it is the Queen's pleasure that you should upon the first article above mentioned, renew, in the strongest terms, the assurances you have already given of her Majesty's unalterable friendship for the States-General, and that you should appear ready to enter into treaty with them, upon the project of an alliance, to subsist after the war. Monsieur Buys seemed to-day very desirous to enter into negociation upon this subject here, but her Majesty, who is unwilling to give any handle for delay in the great work of the general peace, ordered her servants to refer this matter to the Hague.

If we have any farther discourse upon it here, I will not fail to inform your Excellency particularly thereof; in the mean time, by conferring with the Grand Pensionary, and with the other ministers upon it,

* The next letter.

you will soon discover what scheme they may have in view, and perhaps be able to form some *brouillon*, for her Majesty's approbation.

Your Excellency's dispatches contain so many unanswerable arguments, in defence of the method which her Majesty proposes to follow, for obtaining a general peace, that if I should write any more to you, than what is said in her Majesty's answer to Monsieur Buys, I must either transcribe your own reasons, or send you worse. I shall therefore content myself to say to your Excellency, that her Majesty continues to look on all these difficulties raised concerning the method of treating, as endeavours to wrest the negociation out of her hands. In which case, a peace might indeed follow, but it would be such a one as neither the honour nor interest of Britain would be much consulted in.

The objections mentioned above, and all others which may be made to any expressions in the preliminary offers of France, receive one fair and just answer, which is, that those articles are all to be extended
and

and explained in the treaty, to common satisfaction.

There seems very little reason for the States to represent to the Queen, the necessity of exerting the greatest vigour against France, and I believe your Excellency will do very properly upon this occasion, besides what is contained in her Majesty's answer, to take notice of Mr. Whitworth's journey to Vienna; of the great consequence which eight thousand men, out of Hungary, might at that time have been of to the common cause; of the Queen's generous resolution in empowering her minister to offer as far as forty thousand pounds, for the march of these troops, if he found that money could procure them; and of the ill reception which her Majesty's instances met.

Your Excellency is, I take it for granted, informed of the project which was made to keep a vast body of troops, and particularly horse, all this winter on the frontier; by which means, not only Picardy, but even the Isle de France, must have been exposed to our ravages, the enemy would not have been able to erect their magazines, and their army, next spring, must have gone

a great way back to be able to assemble. Her Majesty, at the first overture, consented to come into her share of the extraordinary expence of forage for this service; and afterwards was contented to bear a part of the expence of stables, barracks, fire, candles, and other incidents, which, in their own garrisons, should in justice fall entirely upon the Dutch. However, the execution of this design was industriously delayed, till it became too late to make the necessary preparations.

Thus two plans, which, if they had been pursued, might have given us winter-quarters in the two extremities of France, were supported by the Queen, and failed by the fault of others. I sincerely wish, that there were no more instances of the same kind to be produced.

It is impossible for me to speak to your Excellency, by this opportunity, upon some other heads of business, contained in your last letters; by Tuesday I will endeavour to do it.

I am, with much respect and truth,

My Lord, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

To

To Mr. Pensionary Buys.

S I R,

Whitehall, October 26th, 1711.

I HAVE the honour to send you her Majesty's answer, which was this morning communicated to you by my Lords of the Council, and which you desired in writing. I have chosen to write in English, for fear of committing any mistake in a matter of so great importance.

First, Her Majesty commanded my Lords to assure you, in her name, that she still preserves the same affection for the States-General, and the same friendly concern for their interest, which she has endeavoured to make appear upon all occasions, through the whole course of her reign.

That she desires most earnestly to have the same good understanding subsist between the two nations after a peace, which has been so happily continued during the war. That her Majesty has often shown her inclination to enter into a new and strict engagement to this purpose; and that the Earl of Strafford is instructed to treat with the

Ministers in Holland concerning such an alliance.

Secondly, The Queen commanded my Lords to let you know, that the experience which she has had of proceeding by particular preliminaries towards a general treaty, gives her no encouragement to pursue the same method.

That if a preliminary treaty is to be made, it must either be negotiated by some particular allies, or by all. That her Majesty can never submit to the first, since she will neither take upon her to settle the interests of others, nor suffer that others should settle those of her kingdoms. And that as to the second, your own objection takes place; since it is certain that the Ministers of France will have as fair an opportunity to sow division amongst the allies, when they are all assembled upon a preliminary treaty, as when the conferences are opened for a negotiation of peace.

My Lords did farther acquaint you upon this head, by her Majesty's order, that if you desire to have the general offers of France rendered more specific, and then debate whether it was proper to hazard the negotiation,

ciation, the Queen continues still to be of opinion, for the reasons which were urged in the conference on Wednesday last, that this method can have no other effect than to delay the treaty, without making those advantages, which we hope for, and have reason to expect, more certain, or more easy to be obtained.

That her Majesty is ready and heartily disposed, even now, as well as during the negociation, to insist on every thing which may be necessary for the security of the barrier and commerce of her good friends and allies, the States-General; and that she therefore hopes that no farther difficulties may be raised, but that we may proceed to open the conferences.

Thirdly, My Lords acquainted you, in the Queen's name, that her Majesty not only consents, but desires, that a concert be made for carrying on the war for the next campaign, and will be ready to do it so soon as a negociation for peace shall be set on foot; and will expect, in that case, that the burden of the war be laid more equally and more agreeably to the treaties than it has hitherto been. That her Majesty has given

very fresh instance of her desire to prosecute the war with all imaginable vigour, and that she will join with the States in pressing the allies to perform their parts, as she has endeavoured to animate them by her example.

This, Sir, is the substance of her Majesty's answer to your representations, which I shall give communication of, by express, to the Earl of Strafford, that the least time possible may be lost in forwarding a work so necessary, and which her Majesty hopes, in its conclusion, will prove so satisfactory, to the whole alliance.

I have nothing to add, but to ask your pardon for sending this letter to you so late, and to assure you that I am, with much respect and truth, Sir, your most humble and obedient servant,

H. St. JOHN.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, October 26th, 1711.

BESIDES the trouble which my other dispatch will give you, I must add that of this private letter,

Monfieur

Monfieur Buys was told this morning, that if the Queen had been better informed of the fentiments of the States, with refpect to their own interefts; and if they had let her know fooner, what particulars of this kind they defired France might particularly affure them of, that fhe would have infifted upon them; fince though a due regard is to be had to all the allies, yet certainly Britain and Holland, who have had the greateft load by much of the war, may very juftly take upon them to act, in fome meafure, independently in the peace. He was farther told, that the Queen would immediately infift with France, that more pofitive and fpecific affurances fhould be given concerning the Dutch barrier and commerce, and that perhaps they might come before the conferences could be opened, at leaft that the enemy would be prepared to expect no concessions from us upon thofe heads. The reason why this is not fo fully explained in the letter I write to Buys, is, becaufe your Lordfhip knows, that a written fecret is not long fuch in Holland, and other confederates might perhaps think they had reason to complain.

you are sure is final, cuts off all pretence of delay on the account of what Buys was sent to negotiate.

I must now take the liberty to tell your Excellency, with that freedom which becomes a friend, and which you have allowed me to use, that you carry your suspicions by much too far.

I really thought that you had carried over with you all the papers which France has signed; and if the separate article was omitted to be given you, it was pure mistake; had I designed to keep the secret from you, I should not have been weak enough to speak of it in a letter to you.

As to any separate treaty with France, there is no such thing; the Queen would never think of taking so dishonourable a measure. We have indeed let France know, that we would support our allies in all their pretensions, but that where they proved exorbitant, we would step in to mediate. We will keep, in most respects, as near the preliminaries as we can; and where we shall yield, or where we shall be firm, must be determined by the turn which the negotiation,

ciation takes, and by accidents which arise in it.

For God's fake, my Lord, be persuaded that I have less cunning and more frankness; and that of all the people in the world I would not begin by playing tricks with one, whom I have corresponded and lived so happily with, and in whose bottom I am now embarked, upon the greatest and nicest occasion that was perhaps ever to be managed.

The letter which Petkum shows about, is so full of absurdities, that either some little fellow writ it from Paris, or another little fellow, that is, himself, invented it; and the latter is not unlikely, considering how much he must be piqued, as well as the rest of the peacebrokers, to see their game taken out of their hands, and themselves made useless.

I am dead with sleep and fatigue. My dear Lord, adieu; once more, I conjure you, no jealousies of a man who will always try to deserve your confidence, and who is, &c.

The separate article is out of my hands at present, you shall have it next post.

To

To the Earl of Strafford.*

MY LORD,

Hampton Court, 30th October, 1711.

SINCE my last to your Excellency of the 26th, I have received the honour of your letter of the 4th November, N.S.

I hope your Excellency has found, that I have been as exact as you desired I should be, in sending you an account of what has passed with Monsieur Buys since his arrival here, and of the conferences which he had with the Queen's ministers. If I have not made so ample a relation of the several answers and arguments, which were made use of in the debates with that minister, it was because your Excellency appeared in your own dispatches, to be very much master of the state of the dispute, and that what was urged here was much to the same effect with what your Excellency had insisted on at the Hague.

The great noise which is very industriously made every where against the Queen's measures for procuring a general peace, does not

* Public Letter.

give the least shock to her resolutions, which were taken on very long and very serious consideration, since her Majesty always foresaw that every thing would be put in practice that was possible to hinder the peace being made by her; or if she should make it, yet at least she might not be a free agent in the matter, but find herself obliged to act according to the measures which should be prescribed by Holland.

If the Dutch will do justice to themselves, they must not be surprized that the Queen does not leave the negociation any more in their hands, where it has miscarried twice already; the enemy, as their own minister, Monsieur Buys, owns, being disposed to conclude it on such conditions, as it was not worth the life of one common soldier to refuse. Neither ought they to be surprized if her Majesty thinks fit to pursue another method than that which has been hitherto tried, and found to be only a means of eluding a peace, and was certainly an invention of those who, as your Excellency observes, made a grimace of carrying on a treaty without any intention of concluding. It is likewise a little extraordinary that so small a weight

weight should be laid on the Queen's assurances of making no peace without their reasonable satisfaction; which engagement, however, her Majesty will not fail to perform very religiously; and she has insisted, and does at this time insist, not only on securing them in respect to their barrier, but also on procuring them the advantages they desire for their commerce. And there is no room to doubt but that France will give all that can be reasonably expected on those two heads, rather than run the risk of another campaign; since the difference between what they might propose to gain by chicaning and protracting the conclusion of the peace, and what is demanded of them in our present circumstances, is not so considerable as to be worth the hazard of breaking off the negociation by affected delays, and endeavouring to sow divisions among the allies.

Although, in the last conference, the Lords gave Monsieur Buys to understand that the answer which he had from them in the Queen's name was final, such as had been maturely weighed, and from which her Majesty would not depart; the said minister, however,

however, prayed and insisted that their Lordships would report again to the Queen the same representations, hoping, as he said, that her Majesty might change her mind upon reconsideration. I cannot persuade myself that he expected any effect from these instances, unless it were the gaining of time; I shall, however, at my return from Hampton Court, let him know that the Queen persists in her sentiments; and that it is a vain thing to imagine that the States will be able to make her alter her resolution. It will therefore surely be the opinion of the wisest and most reasonable men among them, that they had better concur with a good grace in the Queen's measures, and cooperate with her for their own interest, which next to that of Great Britain, is what her Majesty has nearest at heart, than by showing such an obstinacy in their ministers, and raising such a spirit in their people, to disoblige the Queen personally, and to give effectually to the French, by their conduct, that advantage which they are afraid they should get by her Majesty's measures.

I hope what has been said here to Count Maffei, with whose behaviour the Queen
is

is very well satisfied, and what was said by your Excellency to the Marquis del Borgo at the Hague, will have that effect on his Royal Highness's mind, which it ought, and which we expect it should have.

The Queen had for some time, with great reason, suspected that the Count de Gallas was engaged in practices very disagreeable to his character; it has at last happened that such authentic proofs thereof are come to her Majesty's knowledge, as made it absolutely necessary to have a just resentment shown.

The master of the ceremonies was therefore ordered, on Sunday last, to go to the Count de Gallas, to forbid him the Court, in her Majesty's name, and to declare that she looked no longer upon him as a public Minister, nor would receive any application from him: but that your Excellency may better be apprised of this matter, and the reasons which induced her Majesty to take this step, I send you the copy of a letter which I writ to Sir Clement Cottrel, and of another which I writ to Monsieur Hoffman*, by the Queen's command.

As

* Gallas had been many years Imperial Envoy; but it was, in those times of party violence, no uncommon occurrence to

As to the affairs of the North, which your Excellency mentions, I shall be much more able to write upon them, after I have received instructions for answering those dispatches which we had some time since by express from Mr. Whitworth. I can only say at present, that I think her Majesty determined to take such measures this winter, as may leave her the least that is possible at the mercy of the Northern powers, particularly, as to the Danish and Saxon troops; the Queen, I believe, is resolved to be at a certainty very soon, and not to see herself a second year exposed to pay for bodies half complete, and to be threatened upon every occasion, even with the recall of these. In this general view, your Excellency may safely venture to guide your conduct; and to this effect you will please to speak to the Ministers of the States, who, her Majesty makes no doubt, have the same sentiments, as they have the same experience. I am, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

find the Ministers of foreign powers deeply engaged in these cabals: this was his case, he was forbid the Court; but Hoffman, the Imperial Resident, was informed, that communications from Vienna through any other medium than the Court, would be received as usual.

De

De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Versailles, le 2^{ie} d'Octobre, 1711.

LA lecture de la lettre dont vous m'avez honoré, le 14^{me} de ce mois, m'a fait autant de plaisir, que vous en avez eu vous-même à l'écrire. Je ne doute pas des suites heureuses de la confiance réciproque qui commence à s'établir; & je puis vous assurer que le Roi contribuera de tout son pouvoir à la fortifier. Il est aisé à ceux qui trouvent leur intérêt dans le trouble, d'exciter & d'entretenir les défiances, mais il est facile aussi de les dissiper, lorsque de part & d'autre on desire sincèrement la paix & l'union. J'espère, Monsieur, que nous verrons enfin l'heureux effet de cette sincérité réciproque; vous la trouverez toujours dans les éclaircissmens qu'il vous plaira de me demander, soit presentement, soit dans la suite de la négociation. Vous trouverez aussi de la part du Roi, la fermeté que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne peut desirer, pour faire jouir la nation Angloise des avantages dont on est convenu.

Je suis persuadé que de la part de sa Ma-

jesté Britannique, cette fermeté ne fera pas moindre pour achever l'ouvrage de la paix à des conditions avantageuses à la France, & à l'Angleterre, en sorte que désormais les deux nations s'unissent par des liaisons que rien ne puisse rompre. Je vous supplie de croire que personne ne souhaite plus que moi les occasions de vous faire connoître que je suis très parfaitement, Monsieur, &c.

Votre, &c.

Le Roi a nommé Monsieur le Marechal d'Huxelles, Monsieur l'Abbé de Polignac*, & Monsieur Mesnager, ses Plénipotentiaires aux conférences de la paix.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Versailles, le 2me Novembre, 1711.

COMME la situation présente des affaires demande qu'on agisse d'un parfait concert pour l'accomplissement de l'ouvrage com-

* Afterwards Cardinal.

mencé,

mencé, j'écris au Sieur Gaultier, pour savoir quelles méfures la Reine de la Grande Bretagne jugera qu'il y ait à prendre sur le refus que les Hollandois font d'entrer en conférence pour la paix. Permettez-moi, Monsieur, en vous adressant la lettre, de vous assurer, que je suis, &c.

A Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

De Hampton Court, ce 22me Octobre 1711.

J'AVOIS répondu à votre lettre du 21me d'Octobre, N.S. quand celle du 2e Novembre fut rendue.

Je ne vous répéterai plus les assurances d'une sincérité parfaite, puisque les paroles deviennent inutiles quand les occasions se présentent de la montrer par des effets.

Monsieur Gaultier, qui aura l'honneur de vous rendre cette lettre, vous décrira en même-tems la situation présente des affaires de la paix.

Il est aisé à ceux qui trouvent leur intérêt dans le trouble (je me fers, Monsieur, de vos expressions) d'exciter & d'entretenir les dé-

G g 3 fiances.

fiances. Voilà à quoi les mal-intentionnés travaillent chez nous, & par-tout ailleurs, Je n'en suis pas pourtant beaucoup en peine, puisqu'il ne dépend que du Roi Très Chrétien de rendre tous leurs efforts inutiles.

Les éclaircissemens que vous me promettez, dissiperont tous ces nuages, & vous croirez que nous nous servirons de ces lumières avec beaucoup de retenue, quand je vous assure que si le Roi voudroit offrir, comme il a fait autrefois, un plan de préliminaires spécifiques, la Reine ne les le voudroit jamais communiquer à ses alliés.

Je finirai en vous assurant que pourvu que le Sieur Gaultier retourne avec ces marques de confiance, dont je ne suis nullement en doute, vous verrez notre parlement, qui va s'assembler, autant porté à la paix qu'il a jamais été à la guerre.

Je suis, &c.

H. St. JEAN.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, October 30th, 1711.

I AM come from Hampton Court to finish my dispatches, and shall throw into
this

this private letter, what I have to say to your Excellency of greatest moment.

Inclosed, you will receive a sort of memorial, which I prepared by the Queen's order, and which has been given to the person employed between France and us, in the course of the present negotiation.

This man, whose name is Gaultier, went away this morning, and is fully instructed to open the Queen's views to the French, and to show them how certainly the great difficulties, both here and abroad, are removed, if they place that confidence in her Majesty which her conduct deserves from them. In short, my Lord, we are on the only bottom which can carry us to a peace. The conferences must be opened upon the general preliminaries, and the Queen must be empowered separately to offer to the allies what may be reasonable for each to accept; her own interests being settled, she must be mediator for others. I inclose likewise a copy of a letter to Monsieur de Torcy, since every paper which passes on this occasion, though never so trivial, helps to let your Excellency the more into her Majesty's sense.

My Lord Dartmouth has, by the Queen's order, spoke to the Count de Maffei, and given him communication of the instances made in behalf of his master's barrier, which it was not to be imagined would be neglected by her Majesty, who has been so frank in declaring her opinion, and in offering her best offices for his aggrandizement.

Your Excellency will please to speak to the Marquis du Bourg to the same effect, without telling him in what manner these instances are made. I believe you will think proper to insinuate to this gentleman, as I have done to the Comte de Maffei, that his Royal Highness cannot but be convinced of her Majesty's sincere concern for him, and for his family, and therefore; that he will do well to make all the necessary advances on his side, and to show the due returns to her Majesty, by co-operating with her, and by observing the strictest confidence with her, in the progress of these negotiations.

I am not surprised at the uneasiness which the Dutch feel, nor at the riotous manner in which they express it. So many years
together.

together has this nation received the law from the influence of their councils, that they are come to think themselves possessed of a sort of prescriptive right to govern us for ever. But surely the sober and reasonable men amongst them, will look on the assurances, so often repeated by the Queen and her servants, as a very good reason for being satisfied themselves, and for calming the minds of others. We only differ about the method of proceeding, and it will not appear very justifiable, every thing considered, that the Queen's insisting on that which she thinks the best, should occasion so much clamour in Holland, and run so far towards breaking the good correspondence of the two nations.

I am sure I need not say to your Excellency, that it will be of great use to have some particular people made sensible of this, and of the folly of showing any distrust of the Queen. Might not people be found to insinuate, that Holland have, more than once, rejected or evaded the best terms of peace, that wise men could have wished to obtain; that it is time to try whether the Queen cannot make the peace which they neglected;

neglected ; and whether another method may not succeed better, worse it cannot, than the former did ?

I have not time to acquaint your Excellency with the particulars of the discovery which induced her Majesty to show her resentment in so remarkable a manner to the Count de Gallas. What you will find in my other dispatch is all that the Queen thinks proper should yet-a-while be said upon the subject. By the first safe opportunity, I will inform your Excellency more circumstantially of the matter ; in the mean time, I cannot forbear telling you, that the whole drift of this Minister's correspondence, was to represent the Queen's word as not to be relied on, to represent her Ministers, in the gross, as fools, knaves, and, in express terms, as enemies to the common cause,

My letter is grown immoderately long, it is high time to relieve you, and to finish, by assuring your Excellency, that I am faithfully, and, if you will allow the familiarity, affectionately, your's, &c.

To the Earl of Peterborough.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, October 30th, 1711.

I AM still in daily expectation of an opportunity of writing to you by the courier, who will carry my Lord Dartmouth's dispatches to your Lordship; and indeed till some such conveyance presents itself, I dare not write with freedom, since the matters at present in treaty, are of the nicest nature; and since the methods used for discovering what passes are more refined, and more scandalous than ever. The inclosed papers will show your Lordship, in what manner the Queen has thought fit to proceed with the Count de Gallas, and the public reasons which she gives for her conduct towards him. I shall only add at present, that this discovery gives her Majesty just occasion of showing that she will not suffer the treatment which she has met with, and of giving warning to others how they presume too far upon her goodness, and the lenity of her temper. It has proved of great service in a critical time, and there is here a due sense of the merit of it,

Though

Though you must be impatient to receive her Majesty's farther orders and instructions, yet I hope this interval from the hurry of business will have contributed to your Lordship's health, as I make no doubt the good climate, whither you are going, will confirm it. I am, my Lord, &c.

To the Earl of Portmore.

MY LORD,

Whitehall, October 24, 1711,

I TAKE the opportunity of her Majesty dispatching Colonel King to your Lordship, to return my humble thanks for the honour of your Lordship's letter, which I received by Mr. Conduit, and for that kind remembrance, and favourable opinion, which you are so good as to preserve of me.

The whole system of the war in Portugal and Catalonia, is so wrong in every part, that Britain cannot, in the first place, bear the unequal load, and, if she could, perhaps the expence is not directed to the purposes most conducive to that end, which we propose to ourselves. The Queen is so sensible of this, that your Lordship sees she begins to change

change

change her measures; and, I believe, the fears which some people may have of losing by this alteration, give rise to many of those difficulties which you meet with in carrying the service on.

The resolution her Majesty is come to, of sending your Lordship to Gibraltar, and the Duke of Argyle to Port Mahon *, may seem at first a little extraordinary; but when it is considered of what importance the preservation and settlement of these places, on a good foot, is to Britain; when it is considered what immense sums have been expended upon them, how blind the accounts are which come over of the condition of them, and how many particulars are not accounted for at all; when all this has been considered duly, I believe it will appear, that a service of so much moment, requires supervisors of your rank; and that such a scene of ignorance and knavery, requires an authority equal to yours, to check and to reform it.

The person sent with this letter, is a

* This appears to be a *coup d'état*. Portmore and Argyle were both appointed to their commands, in Portugal and Catalonia, by the new ministry; both were at this time disgusted with their stations, both solicited to return; the war in both places was given up; and in order to soften their return employments of considerable importance were assigned to them.

young man, who has, I think, as much genius as a fond father would wish to his favourite son ; and besides the theory of his trade, he has all the experience which the campaigns in Flanders of this war, could give him. I took the liberty to recommend him to the Queen, when I found she was quite dissatisfied with Mr. Bennet's conduct, and determined to trust him no more. I must recommend him likewise to your Lordship ; and I dare answer, that when you have once made experience of him, he will sufficiently recommend himself.

My Lord Dartmouth writes so amply to your Lordship, concerning the particular intentions of her Majesty, that it would be superfluous and impertinent for me to add any thing ; I cannot, however, omit saying, that I hope your Lordship will not only put the place in a condition of safety, but bring her Majesty such an account of the state of the town, fortifications, stores, artillery, economy, government, garrison, and other circumstances, as may enable her, once for all, to make such regulations, and to establish such a method of supporting them, that she may be well served for the future, where it
is

is of so great importance that she should be so. Colonel King is either to stay there, or to come back with your Lordship, as you shall please to determine; in the last case, I suppose he will be ordered to return immediately with the Queen's directions upon your Lordship's report. I will end this tedious letter, with the repetition of my sincere respect for your Lordship, and of my assurances that I am, my Lord, &c.

*To Mr. Stanwix **

SIR,

Whitehall, 31st October, 1711.

THE Queen having determined to send the Earl of Portmore to Gibraltar, that he may inspect the condition of the place, and bring her Majesty an account of every thing relating to it; upon which, I hope, such an establishment may be settled, and such regulations made, as will be for the advantage of the Queen's service, and for the ease of you and all the gentlemen under your com-

* Brigadier-general Stanwix, Commander in Chief at Gibraltar.

mand ; her Majesty has likewise thought fit to order Colonel King, upon his return from North America, to proceed to Lisbon, that he may attend the Earl of Portmore, and either stay with you, or return hither, as his Lordship shall judge most proper.

You will give me leave to recommend this officer to your acquaintance and friendship ; as he is master of a thousand good qualities, I am sure you will never blame me for taking this liberty.

I have said to my Lord Portmore, and to Colonel King, and I must say to you, that I hope the report, which from this survey we shall receive, will enable the Queen to take her measures with certainty, in every respect.

I am, Sir, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, November 2d, 1711.

YOUR Excellency will receive in this packet a state † of the proceedings in Denmark towards several of her Majesty's sub-

* Public Letter.

† Extracted from Mr. Pulteney's Letter. BOLINGBROKE.

jects, concerned in, and owners of ships bought in Sweden, and taken by the Danes in their passage to Britain.

The injustice is so very flagrant, that the Queen will not sit down under such treatment, and the particulars are transmitted to your Excellency, that you may be able to speak to the Danish minister upon the subject, and that you may see how much more reasonable and necessary it is for us to demand new securities from Denmark, than for those people to insist on new advantages from us.

Upon the two last dispatches which I had the honour to send your Excellency, you have, I suppose, again pressed the States to think seriously, of what you have, in her Majesty's name, communicated to them; and on the accounts which they have received from Monsieur Buys, 'it is to be hoped they have spoke to you in a more complying style, since he has served them very ill, if he has not convinced them of the Queen's firmness, and shown them how little is to be got by attempting to shake her resolution, or to alter her measures.

I saw this minister yesterday morning,

and this evening, at my office ; we talked indeed a little, and but a little, on the method of peace-making ; since the Queen's final answer being given, it was vain to argue any longer about the matter. I pressed him upon two other heads : the method of carrying on the war, and the project of an alliance between the two nations.

On the first he has no instructions, and he seems to entrench himself in these two holds, that England and Holland have done equally well, since both have done their utmost, and nothing but exhortations can be used to prevail on the other allies to act with greater vigour. On the second, he has instructions to treat, and to take the matter as it were, *ad referendum*, but he has no power to conclude.

We cannot agree, that there is that parity between the efforts of England and Holland, and we think that as little good effect is to be expected from future exhortations, as has been produced by those volumes, which the Dutch have every winter so liberally dispersed *. The Queen, indeed, will not finally concert a plan for the prosecu-

* The Dutch published every winter, a state of the war.

tion of the war with the States, until they join with her in agreeing to open the conferences of peace; but I have offered Monsieur Buys to go through the several particulars with him, and to show him where we think our own burden too heavy, and that of others too light. By these conferences we should at least understand each other the better, and prepare the way for a new system of war.

On the head of the alliance a *brouillon* has been formed by my Lord Privy Seal. Mr. Buys has read it, and has made some alterations in it. It will be again talked over, and then transmitted to your Excellency to finish. I am, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

To the Earl of Strafford.*

MY LORD,

Whitehall, November 9th, 1711.

ALTHOUGH we have no boat on this side of the water, yet her Majesty having directed some matters which are of mo-

* Public Letter.

ment, and which require dispatch, I have sent to the Post-masters General that they should hire a vessel to carry over the letter of this night, as well as those of Tuesday and Friday last, which are still detained.

Whilst Mr. Buys is in expectation of fresh instructions from his masters, that he might not appear to be entirely idle, he has pressed to proceed upon the project of an offensive and defensive alliance betwixt the two nations; he owns himself not impowered to sign such a treaty, but desired extremely to see one formed, and to have the liberty of sending it over, in hopes that his masters might authorize him finally to conclude it, or at least to sign it *sub spe rati*. The Queen, who has not agreed with him in many other points, was willing enough to indulge him in this; and accordingly a *brouillon* having been formed by my Lord Privy Seal, several extensions given to it by Monsieur Buys himself, the Lords of the Council met him this morning, in a conference, at the Earl of Dartmouth's office.

There was no dispute between him and the Lords, except upon two points; the first
related

related to these words in the preamble, *cum pax communi consensu inita fuerit*.

My Lords thought that this must be improper to be mentioned, since, in its full extent, it never can be expected; the joint-consent of Britain and Holland to a treaty of peace will, we can make no doubt, be at last easily had; but by the last clause in this project of a treaty, the Emperor and other allies are to be invited as parties into it; and consequently the consent of every one of these would, by these general words, become necessary. Monsieur Buys, in answer to this, observed, that this treaty proposed is nothing more than a repetition of what has been already, by former treaties, stipulated; that it is designed to show both our friends and enemies, by a renewal of former engagements, that we intend to continue firmly united together; and therefore that the expressions in this ought to be at least as strong as any precedent alliances, in all which, upon the same occasion, these words, *communi consensu*, are used. He did indeed agree, that a peace by universal consent was hardly to be expected; but he persisted, that admitting of these words

H. h 3 would

would tie Britain and Holland down in a future negociation, no more than the same had done in that of Ryſwick, where the Emperor diſ�ented from us, and yet the peace was made.

The ſecond objection made by the Lords to what had been inſerted by Monſieur Buys, was to theſe words, *eoſdem tractatus de novo confirmare*. My Lords were apprehenſive that what went before might not be ſo clear, but that this expreſſion might hereafter be conſtrued to confirm all the treaties between the Queen and the States, and might make it difficult to alter even ſuch particulars of them, as it may appear reaſonable to change. It was inſinuated to him, that he himſelf had not been very well able to defend all the exceptions to the barrier-treaty; and beſides that, perhaps the barrier of Holland might be equally good, though not numerically the ſame, as is ſpecified in their favourite bargain. His answer to this was, in ſhort, that theſe words could never be underſtood to include the barrier-treaty, but they could refer to none but offensive and defensive alliances; and that they ought either to be left in, or the treaties thereby

thereby confirmed ought particularly to be mentioned. The whole matter was at last taken *ad referendum*; we report to the Queen, he to the States; and after having compared his copy of the project and mine together, we parted. The inclosed* is an exact

* Project of a treaty with the States-General.

“Serenissima ac Potentissima Princeps & Domina, Anna, Dei gratia Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, Fidei Defensor, &c. et Celsi ac Præpotentes Domini Ordines Generales Fœderati Belgii ad rationes tam belli presentis, quam pacis obtandæ, & Deo favente secuturæ, animum omni studio advertentes, *Et volentes quam maximè ad bellum feliciter finiendum, Et cum pax communi consensu inita fuerit, ad eandem contra quoscunque tuendam omnem operam conferre, è re communi existimârunt (quamquam præcedentes Tractatus, qui inter Regiam suam Majestatem Et dictos Ordines Generales intercedunt, eò satis tendant) eosdem Tractatus de novo confirmare, Et specialem eâ de re pacificationem insuper inire qua propter communicatis consiliis super arduis hisce negotiis suam & communem Orbis Christiani Salutem tangentibus, de iisdem per infra scriptos suos Ministros plenâ autoritate munitos, tenore sequenti convenire æquum duxerunt & necessarium.*

“Vigore præsentis conventionis mutuo sese obstringunt al-tememorata Regia sua Majestas & præfati Domini Ordines Generales, ad ea omnia præstanda, quæ bello, quod nunc geritur *feliciter*, prosequendo ipsis ex pactis initis invicem incumbunt, imo plura si necessarium fuerit idque se bonâ fide & totis viribus qua mari qua terrâ facturos, donec hostis in pacis æquæ ac tutæ leges consenserit, & pax generalis obtineri ac stabiliri queat.

“Pace insuper, Deo propitiante, parta sincerè & solemniter spondent & mutuo promittunt regia sua Majestas & Domini ordines generales sese fideliter, sedulò, omnique industriâ rationem consiliorum suorum eo directuros, mutuamq. curam et operam impensuros, *etiam armatâ manu si necessum fuerit* quo dicta. Pax ritè observetur, *Et jus quod federatorum qui-vis per eandem communi consensu acquisiverit sartum ipsi te-tumq. maneat*, ac ut omnes ejusdem pacis infracti ones tempestivè evitentur ac impediuntur; controversiæ vero omnes, quæ circa

exact transcript of it, distinguishing by the lines drawn † such additions as were made by Monsieur Buys to the first plan.

After he was gone, my Lords, upon farther consideration, thought that the second objection might easily be cleared by making use of the hint which himself had given.

And I have therefore altered the latter part of the preamble, of which, and of the letter I writ to him on this occasion, inclosed are copies.

The Queen having writ with her own

consensum ejus genuinum oriri poterint, amicé dirimantur; vel si media amicabilia *intra bimestre si iam* minus processerint, tunc aut etiam citius, casu quo periculi exigentia moram non patiatur, communes suæ & fœderatorum qui huic conventioni accesserint vires confocientur, et tali numero terra marique adhibeantur contra quicunque turbatores, prout periculi magnitudo id exigerit, usque dum parti læsæ fiat satis ac pacis et tranquillitatis publicæ redintegrationi & securitati omnino prospectum ac provisum fuerit.

“In quem quidem finem, ad firman nempe solidamque tranquillitatem cō plenius perfectiusque procurandam, eademq. *postea* tamen omnes et singuli principes ac status Christiani, pacem amantes, maximè verò Cæsarea sua Majestas et reliqui fœderati invitandi erunt, ut in hæc pacta transeant, deque eisdem ampliandis porrò aptandisque ad scopum pium, pacificum et salutarem, quem sibi unicé proponunt aliememorati contrahentes, consensum & operam suam adhibere vellent.

“Quamquam tractatus anno 1701, inter cæsaream suam Majestatem nuperumque Magnæ Britanniae regem Gulielmum Tertium gloriosæ memoriæ et dictos ordines generales conclusus, aliisque anno 1703. inter supradictam reginam magnæ Britanniae eisdemq. Ordines Generales. factus cō satis tendant.”

† Which are here printed in *Italics*.

hand

hand to the Emperor, on the subject of the Count de Gallas, has thought fit to order her Secretary of the embassy at the Hague to proceed to meet his Imperial Majesty, and to deliver her letter to him. Mr. Watkins is at the same time fully instructed in the several particulars on which the resentment, her Majesty thought fit to express against the Count de Gallas, was grounded, as they are too voluminous to be sent with this letter to your Excellency, you will allow me to refer you to Mr. Watkins for them. The Queen thinks it below her dignity to enter into a formal justification of her conduct; and I believe the best measure your Excellency can observe, will be to speak in general terms of this matter, without seeming to be instructed.

I send your Excellency a copy of what I have writ to Monsieur Rosenkrantz, concerning the dispute, which we have at this time with the Danes. There comes likewise a copy of a report of the Commissioners of trade, relating to the same matter. It is hard to conceive a treatment more unjust, than what our merchants have met with at Copenhagen, or a proceeding found-

ed on more arbitrary principles, or supported by more absurd arguments. I am, &c.

H. St. JOHN.

De Monsieur de Torcy.

MONSIEUR,

A Versailles, le 18^{me} Novembre, 1711.

J'AI reçu par le Sieur Gaultier la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire, le 9^{me} de ce mois, & je crois que vous êtes bien persuadé, que le roi a vu avec beaucoup de plaisir, les marques nouvelles de la fermeté que la Reine de la Grande Bretagne fait paroître pour le rétablissement d'une bonne & sûre paix. J'espère, Monsieur, que ses intentions sincères & équitables auront tout le succès qu'on en doit attendre pour le repos de l'Europe. Vous verrez aussi, Monsieur, par le mémoire que le Sieur Gaultier aura l'honneur de vous remettre, que le Roi n'oublie rien pour l'heureux accomplissement d'une négociation aussi bien commencée, & que sa Majesté compte entièrement sur le secret & sur le bon usage que vous ferez de la confiance entière qu'elle témoigne à la Reine de la Grande Bretagne.

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Les bonnes dispositions du parlement prochain, acheveront de détruire les espérances de ceux qui veulent la continuation de la guerre, au dépens du bonheur de la nation, & vous ne lui rendez pas, Monsieur, un médiocre service en travaillant à la conclusion d'une paix, où elle trouvera sa gloire & ses avantages. Je vous supplie de croire qu'on ne peut être plus véritablement, que je suis, Monsieur, &c.

To Mr. Watkins.

Whitehall, November 9th, 1711,

YOU receive, by the Queen's command, here inclosed, a lettre-de-cachet* from her Majesty to the Emperor, and copies of several affidavits, relating to the conduct of the Count de Gallas.

The Queen directs that you proceed immediately to meet his Imperial Majesty, which she supposes you may do about the time he arrives at Frankfort. You are to

* This epithet sounds, to a British ear, unpleasantly, as conveying ideas of the tyrannical use of these lettres-de-cachet in France; but there, as well as in England, the simple meaning is nothing more than a letter written and sealed by the King.

make the proper compliments, and to acquaint his Imperial Majesty, that the Queen having an occasion to write to him, in an affair of great importance, and which touches her very nearly, had commanded you to leave your post at the Hague, and to deliver, with the greatest dispatch, her letter to him. You may likewise insinuate enough to make the Emperor understand, that you are sufficiently instructed in the particular instances which prompted her Majesty to take the resolution of forbidding the Count de Gallas the court; and when the Ministers press you upon the subject, you may speak to them, according to such informations as the inclosed papers will give you. Whenever you mention Clemente*, you will talk of him as a spy, discovered and seized by us, and leave them rather to think his confession made after he was taken up, than to imagine that he was gained by us, whilst he was employed by them. A day or two will suffice for performing this service, and you are then to return to the Hague with all possible diligence, where her Majesty judges that your

* Clemente's conduct was not very praise-worthy, as he had betrayed his master.

presence will by that time be absolutely necessary, on account of the negociation of peace, and such other matters as immediately belong to the post of Secretary to the embassy, and wherein the Queen makes no doubt of your serving her with equal capacity, faithfulness, and application.

I should have enclosed a copy of the lettre-de-cachet, but the Queen forgot to send it from Hampton Court.

Not having time to enter into the detail of the commission you are sent upon, in my letter to the Earl of Strafford, it will be proper to acquaint his Excellency with it, and I have accordingly referred him to this dispatch. I am, Sir, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Hampton Court, November 17th, 1711.

I CANNOT do any more at present, than acknowledge the favours of your Excellency's letters of the 7th, 10th, 13th, 15th, 20th, and 21st, N.S. Monsieur Buys will this evening have an audience of the Queen, and in the beginning of the week, a conference

a conference with the Lords; immediately after which, I shall dispatch a messenger to your Excellency.

It is impossible to do better than you have done, my Lord, in every part of this difficult negociation, and I heartily congratulate with your Excellency on the success of your labours. The Queen commands me to say, she is extremely satisfied with your Excellency's conduct.

The person I named to you more than a fortnight ago, is returned.

The Queen, I think, has it in her power to do every thing that is reasonable for her allies; and the best thing they can do for themselves, is to submit to her, instead of struggling against that power, without whom, they can neither make war or peace to any good effect. I am, my Lord, &c.

To the Earl of Strafford.

MY LORD,

Hampton Court, November 21st, 1711.

I AM to return my humble thanks for several private letters from your Excellency, which I have been honoured with; the importance

portance of the negociation now on foot, and the villainous endeavours which are used to disappoint or to spoil it, make it absolutely necessary for those, who are employed in the conduct of it, to correspond without reserve towards each other, and to act with the utmost caution towards the rest of mankind.

We have had letters from Monsieur de Torcy, and a memorial, in answer to that sent some time ago into France, wherein the Queen desired particularly to be informed of the intention of that court, as to the barrier and commerce of Holland, and as to the Duke of Savoy's interests. The paper we have received, is extremely long, and in some parts not extremely clear; but, upon the whole, I dare say we may depend on every thing reasonable for the States, for his Royal Highness, and for all the allies, except the Emperor, at whose expence this peace is likely to be made, as the war has been at ours.

When we have settled the propositions with Monsieur Buys, and with the Chevalier de Maffei, which we shall insist upon at the future treaty; I will be sure to inform

form your Excellency of the whole; and my opinion is, that we should then frankly let France know, what the terms are to which the principal allies will probably reduce themselves, which we must join with them in demanding, and which must be yielded to secure the peace. I should add, that we have not yet owned to Buys, the return of the person sent to France.

The Duke of Marlborough, I have seen once, but it has been in public, so that I am very much a stranger to his Grace's sentiments. I hear, however, that he will decline here meddling in this affair, and that in his conversation with the Queen, he has spoke against what we are doing; in short, his fate hangs heavy upon him, and he has of late pursued every council which was the worst for him.

There will be mention made in the Queen's speech, of the negociation of peace but, I take it for granted, this will only be general, and enough to procure the sanction of both Houses to our proceedings. Indeed, if the Dutch had been obstinate, it would have been necessary to have opened more to
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the parliament, as we should have wanted more from them.

The Queen desires that your Excellency will compliment Mr. Van Lia*, and acquaint him, that her intention always was to have his pension continued to him, and that Mrs. Masham has her Majesty's orders to pay it.

Since I writ thus far, I have been with the Queen, and I find that my intelligence was true concerning the Duke of Marlborough. His Grace may take what turn he pleases, but I will venture to assure your Excellency, that the bent of the nation is for peace; and those who talk with the members, as they arrive from their several countries, assure me, that they come up determined to support all we are doing; and that nothing is more popular than that firmness and resolution which has been shown by the Queen's servants, in carrying on the great work, amidst so much opposition and so much clamour.

Barton, who brings this dispatch, is ordered to attend your Excellency, and I be-

* A person of this name was, in King William's reign, Envoy from the States.

lieve you will think fit to have either Barlow or him always in waiting.

I am, with great truth, my Lord, &c.

Breton* will be shortly sent to Berlin, but it is not yet declared.

* Brigadier-general William Breton.

TRANSLATION

OF

FOREIGN LETTERS AND PAPERS, &c.

To Mr. Pensionary Buys. (Page 1.)

SIR,

Windfor Castle, October 13th, 1710, O.S.

I RECEIVED the news of your illness, through Mr. Drummond, with much concern; I hope it will be of short continuance, and that your health, so necessary for the welfare of the common cause, will be speedily restored.

I protest, Sir, with all the sincerity of an honest heart, that when I entered the office in which I have now the honour to serve her Majesty, no consideration was more pleasing to me than the opportunities I should then have of showing how great has been my esteem for you ever since I knew you in London, and which is still warmly impressed on my heart.

I have always looked upon the interest of our countries as inseparable, without injury to both: a principle which has never failed, ever since your republic was founded, is, that when our Princes pursued the true interest of their kingdoms, they were the friends of Holland; and we never were at enmity with you, but while our Courts were forming projects equally as pernicious to us as to the Lords the States-General. These are maxims which shall govern my conduct; and I am willing to hope, that, with your good advice, I may be able to make them, in some measure, useful and advantageous to both nations.

You will think it right that I should occasionally write to you, at least on the subject of our home affairs: you

may depend upon the truth, which of late has been disguised with as much malevolence as artifice. I am, &c.

To Marshal Tallard. (Page 11.)

SIR,

Whitehall, November 7th, 1711.

I HAVE had the honour to read to her Majesty the letter you wrote to me: the Queen cannot at present grant you leave to go to France, but she orders me to assure you that she is sensible of your misfortunes, and that you will, upon a future occasion, find her disposed to grant the mitigation you request.

I hope, Sir, you will do me the justice to believe, that I represented your case in the best manner possible; and that, upon all occasions, you will experience a readiness to do you every service in my power. I am, &c.

To Monsieur de Roberthou. (Page 12.)

SIR,

Whitehall, November 10th, 1710.

THE honour you have done me by your letter of the 23d October, deserved an answer by the first opportunity; a duty which I should not have failed to perform, had I not been for these two weeks past so over-burdened with business as to render it impossible.

I beg you to believe, Sir, that I accept with all imaginable pleasure the offer you make me of your correspondence: to me it must be agreeable, and may be beneficial to the two Courts which we have the honour to serve.

Baron Bothmar is expected here shortly: some time since, I dispatched the Queen's orders to the Commissioners of the Admiralty to send a yacht to Holland for him. He may be certain of my humble services on all occasions; that is, indeed, the smallest token I can give of the respect I have always preserved, and shall ever retain, for the Court whose Minister he is.

Her Majesty will very soon name her Ambassador to his Electoral Highness; I hope you will be satisfied with him, and I doubt not your granting him your protection.

You will always do me a particular favour in communicating your orders; a truth, of which I beg you to be convinced: and, in the mean time, no one can be more sincerely, &c.

To

To Mr. Pensionary Buys. (Page 19.)

SIR,

Whitehall, November 17th, 1710, O.S.

THE obliging manner in which you received my offer of a correspondence, the advantage of which will be wholly mine, engages me to defer no longer my return of thanks.

The maxims you so much approve of, are those which I have ever pursued; they are indelibly graven on my heart, and on those of many persons here, who have probably been represented in Holland under a very different character.

The Duke of Shrewsbury and Mr. Harley are much your servants, as are also those other gentlemen who had the advantage of knowing you during your stay here. They have continued in the same opinion with regard to the common cause, and the interests of our two nations, as they then professed; and if, at this time, they have not the same connections, nor the same intimacies and friendships as they then had, I can assure you, the change did not take place through any fault of theirs. We shall calm the public mind as much as possible, and you need not fear that things will be pushed too far, for that parliament which manifested more violence than any since the reign of Charles II, has been dissolved. The allies were alarmed when the Queen thought proper to change her ministry, and we perfectly well know the arts practised to inflame the minds of men. I am willing to hope, that these first commotions are over, and dare predict, that what has happened will make known to the world how greatly those have been deceived who imagined, that all our exertions in the common cause were attributable to three or four persons.

Earl Rivers spoke of you to me with all the esteem which you merit; and I can assure you, that he was very well satisfied with his conversation with you. If he could not give you a positive answer upon a certain point, I will nevertheless give you my opinion upon it, which is, that the situation of those who have the honour to serve the Queen will depend upon their own conduct.

I intended to have spoken to you of two other articles of very great importance, upon which her Majesty, who desires in all things to act in concert with the States, and, without reserve, has given her orders to the Duke of Marl-

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borough and my Lord Townshend to speak to their High Mightinesses ; but as my letter is already too long, I will no longer abuse your patience. I request the continuance of your friendship, and the justice to believe, that
I am, &c.

To Monsieur de Roberthou. (Page 62.)

S I R,

Whitehall, January 9th. 1710, O.S.

I FEEL a lively gratitude for the honour his Electoral Highness has condescended to do me. I beg you will repeat to him my assurances, that no one can be more devoted to his service, nor to that of his illustrious house, than I am. In the various situations of a life sufficiently busy, I have endeavoured to exemplify these sentiments, and were I capable of change, I should consider myself unworthy of the character of a good Protestant, a good Englishman, or a faithful servant of the Queen, my mistress.

Baron Bothmar is now here ; I shall not fail to live with him in most perfect confidence ; and he may depend upon all the good offices in my power ; I even hope, that I have already shewn him that such is my intention.

I agree with you, that during Baron Bothmar's stay in London, it will be useless for me to give you the trouble of writing to me. Through him I will pay my compliments to you, and I shall ever be, &c.

To Mr. Pensionary Buys. (Page 63.)

S I R,

Whitehall, January 12th, 1710, O.S.

I AM much pleased to find you satisfied with the opening of our parliament, I dare foretell you will not be less so with its close.

The persons you mention well deserve that epithet of moderate men, which some others have unjustly arrogated to themselves, since they have more than once put a stop to the violence of our parties, and never more opportunely than in the late revolution in the administration ; in the latter instance, had it not been for this turn of affairs, we should have become the slaves of a faction within, while, without, we were making the utmost efforts in the cause of the liberties of Europe. It is to be hoped that, in time, all

our friends will be sensible how much they have been imposed upon by those people who wished to persuade them, that the welfare of the common cause was at stake, while, in fact, the interest of a few individuals was alone concerned.

Every object of contention should be as far removed as possible ; in this respect we shall not be liable to censure, but still we must never forget, that our parliaments were instituted by the wisdom of our ancestors, to examine into the distribution of public monies, as well as to grant them.

Permit me to refer you to what I have written to Mr. Drummond, concerning the funds we shall establish for the expences of the war, and the payment of our debts.

The Duke of Malborough is now here ; he has chosen to submit in all things to the Queen's good pleasure, and on this foot he may support himself. All those who have the honour to be concerned in public affairs, are ready to take him by the hand, and to do their best services for her Majesty and the common cause, in concert with him ;—but we must march straight forward.

In my first letter I gave you my word, and I keep it, for I write to you without reserve.

The Commissioners of the Treasury, this morning, received the Queen's orders to furnish the sums necessary for larger provision of forage, and, by this night's post, a remittance will be made of 120,000*l.* sterling, for the service of the troops in general. Thus you see, Sir, that, far from neglecting the war in Flanders, all measures are taken, a month or five weeks sooner than usual, to support it on that side ; in fact, the extraordinary preparations of the enemy require us to do so. We must hope, with the blessing of Heaven, still to preserve that superiority which we have acquired, in spite of all the unlucky accidents lately experienced.

With respect to a peace, I think with you, that we must never consent to a bad one ; and in order to obtain a good one, it appears to me, that we must inviolably observe these two maxims : first, never to make advances ; and, secondly, not to be too inflexible in the rejection of reasonable proposals. I am, &c.

To Monsieur Petkum. (Page 91.)

S I R,

March 6th, 1710, O.

I RECEIVED your letter of the 6th-17th of last month, and accept with pleasure the offer of your correspondence.

As her Majesty, the Queen, entered into this war solely to obtain and secure the peace of Europe, you may be assured that she will be happy to hear that the French are willing to make advances that way.

We are very well aware, Sir, of the pains you have taken to accomplish so pious a work as that of peace, and we are persuaded that you will always act for the welfare of all the allies. I recommend myself to the honour of your good favour, and am, &c.

To Mr. Pensionary Buys. (Page 122.)

S I R,

March 23d, 1710, O.S.

I AM extremely obliged to you for the honour you have done me by your letter of the 27th, N.S.

Mr. Harley, thank God, recovers daily, and we hope in a little time he will be able to resume his labours, for the greater benefit of both nations and of the common cause. I cannot help telling you, that the injury sustained in our affairs, as well domestic as foreign, during the illness of this minister, proves plainly how great would have been our loss, had the blow he received proved mortal.

I hope the difficulties we had to combat are removed: we shall furnish nearly 7,000,000l. sterling, for the service of the present year, and we shall find the necessary means for the payment of our debts.

I am pleased to find that the Duke of Marlborough is satisfied with our conduct; it is very certain that, with respect to him, we have been very open and sincere.

We must put a good face on a bad game; you do so, we do so, and the French at least as much so as any other power. It appears to me that France wishes to see the issue of these intrigues which she has been some time plotting, before she thinks in earnest of a peace. I am, &c.

WE are very sensible of the difficulties in the affair of the two ships, and of our obligations to you in particular.

cular. Mr. Drummond is well informed of my sentiments on that business. I shall have very great pleasure in labouring conjointly with Monsieur Vryberge to prevent such disputes in future.

Overture from France. (Page 172.)

THAT as it could not be doubted but the King was in a condition of continuing the war with honour, so it could not be looked on as a mark of weakness in his Majesty to break the silence he had kept, since the conferences at Gertruydenberg, and that before the opening of the campaign: he now gives farther proof of the desire he always had to procure the repose of Europe. But, after what he hath found, by experience, of the sentiments of those persons who now govern the republic of Holland, and of their industry in rendering all negociations without effect, his Majesty will, for the public good, offer to the English nation those propositions which he thinks fit to make, for terminating the war and settling the tranquillity of Europe upon a solid foundation. It is with this view that he offers to enter into a treaty of peace, founded on the following conditions:

First, The English nation shall have real securities for carrying on their trade in Spain, the Indies, and ports of the Mediterranean.

Secondly, The King will consent to form a sufficient barrier in the Low Countries, for the security of the republic of Holland; and this barrier shall be such as England shall agree upon and approve; his Majesty promising, at the same time, an entire liberty and security to the trade of the Dutch.

Thirdly, All reasonable methods shall be thought of, with sincerity and truth, for giving satisfaction to the allies of England and Holland.

Fourthly, Whereas the affairs of the King of Spain are in so good a condition as to furnish new expedients for putting an end to the disputes about that monarchy, and for settling it to the satisfaction of the several parties concerned: all sincere endeavours shall be used for surmounting the difficulties arisen upon this occasion; and the trade and interest of all parties engaged in the present war shall be secured.

Fifthly, The conferences, in order to treat of a peace upon

upon these conditions, shall be immediately opened, and the Plenipotentiaries, whom the King shall name to assist thereat, shall treat with those of England and Holland, either alone or in conjunction with those of their allies, as England shall chuse.

Sixthly, His Majesty proposes the towns of Aix-la-Chapelle, or Liege, for the place where the Plenipotentiaries shall assemble; leaving the choice likewise to England, of either of the said towns, wherein to treat of a general peace.

Note. (Page 169.)

The Abbé Gaultier to the Marquis de Torcy.

SIR,

London, May 8th, 1711, N.S.

I HAD the honour to inform you on Tuesday, that I had given in the memorial entrusted to me the 23d ultimo: it has been read and examined, and it is now transmitted to the States-General. After having proceeded thus far, it is judged reasonable, that you should explain yourself, particularly on the contents of the first article, and what you mean by the words '*that the English nation shall have real securities for carrying on their trade in Spain, the Indies, and the ports of the Mediterranean.*' I am ordered to write this to-day, and beg you will have the goodness to send me an early answer. I am, &c.

F. GAULTIER.

Gaultier to de la Garde.

London, May 8th, 1711, N.S.

PRAY convey the inclosed to its address as soon as you receive it; and send me the answer as early as possible.

The Marquis de Torcy to the Abbé Gaultier.

SIR,

Marli, May 31st, 1711,

BY the last post I informed you, that I had received your letter of the 8th, and that I should immediately answer the essential parts of its contents. I do this to-day, by giving you the explanation you require, upon the first article of the project sent to you. In truth, it should properly be deferred until the conferences: and you can scarce require explanations when we have no assurances on your part.

We

We are, however, willing to wave this difficulty, to show not only the good faith and plain dealing, which you desire, but also that confidence which we place in you. You may then assure your employers, that we have received the King of Spain's word for the cession of Gibraltar to the English, for the real security of their trade in Spain and the Mediterranean. You will add, that no proposal has hitherto been made to his Catholic Majesty, for the security of the Indian commerce; because we should previously know what England may judge proper on that subject. Make enquiry then, and as soon as you shall have informed me, we will make a strong application to the Catholic King, that his ministers, at the conferences of peace, be instructed on so important an article, and which cannot be treated as preliminary. We know in general, that he will be disposed to favour the English, whenever they contribute their endeavours to the reestablishment of public tranquillity.

I spoke to you upon the pretended negociation of the Duke of Loraine, and I told you that Prince, after having founded at the Hague, of his own accord had offered his services here; nothing has occurred in this business, since the King's answer stopped it at the commencement. You may depend upon what is stated in the preamble to the memorial I gave you, it depends upon England whether the King ever addresses himself again to the Dutch, to treat of peace.

There is still less foundation for the offers pretended to be made by the Duke of Noailles to the Archduke, than for the negociation set on foot by the Duke of Loraine. In a word, the only one now open for peace is that with you. But make a good use of the confidence reposed in you, for it would be unjust that the favourable appearances in another quarter should be lost. Do not consider this as a threat, but reflect how imprudent it would be in you to neglect the means of making peace, while we are not certain of any concessions on your part. I am, &c.

DE TORCY.

To Marshal de Tallard. (Page 211.)

S I R,

May 17th, 1711.

I RECEIVED your's of the 5th, and also that which your agent brought to me. To send you the leave you request

request would be to me the greatest pleasure in the world, and I entreat you to depend upon my word, that nothing on my part shall be neglected to obtain it for you. The messenger you dispatched to France was sent off immediately; in compliance with the usual forms, I ran over your letters to the King, but gave them to the bearer without delay; and you may be assured that I shall mention their contents to no one. Your word of honour is sufficient on that account; I did not seal up the packets which your man had in charge, nor on this occasion have I taken the usual precautions,

I send you a letter which Sir — Walter has desired me to forward to you. No one is more sensible of your misfortunes than, &c.

To the Marquis du Bourg. (Page 235.)

S I R,

June 3th, 1711.

AS you have demanded a communication in writing of what was said to you this morning, by her Majesty's order, at the conference with the Lords of the Council, I have the honour to notify to you—that the Queen's esteem and affection for his Royal Highness, your master, have not been the only inducement to forward his interest by every possible means in her power; but she considers the aggrandizement of the House of Savoy as the most certain method of supporting that balance of power so essential to the repose and happiness of Europe. That her Majesty is resolved to merit in future, as she believes she has hitherto done, the confidence which his Royal Highness places in her; and that the Queen coincides with his said Highness in his views, as well in the case of incompatibility as in that of the union of the Empire with the Spanish Monarchy. That her Majesty looks upon the marriage of the Prince of Piedmont with the Archduchess as the surest and most equitable method of averting those dangers to which his Royal Highness conceives himself exposed in one case, and of securing his pretensions in the other. That she is ready to propose this marriage at a time, and in a manner, most agreeable to his Royal Highness; but she is of opinion, that, to facilitate this scheme, it will be necessary that the Archduchess should renounce her right to the hereditary countries of the Empire. That

her Majesty will immediately use her endeavours to bring her allies into the same sentiments, and will begin, as soon as Lord Raby returns to Holland, to advise the States-General to adopt the same plan. That the Queen, in this critical conjuncture, being disposed to do every thing that his Royal Highness can require, the Lords of the Council are ready to confer with your master's ministers, upon the measures most proper to insure success to his plans.

This is what I was ordered to write to you, and what I explained to you more circumstantially *viva voce*. I am, &c.

I forbear mentioning Mr. Whitworth's commission at the Court of Vienna, concerning the reinforcement of 8,000 men, as you are already apprized of her Majesty's orders on that subject.

To Count de Wratislaw. (Page 251.)

SIR,

June 15th, 1711.

I RECEIVED the letter committed to the care of Mr. Palmes at his departure from Vienna, and feel myself extremely obliged by the honour of your remembrance.

The plan you have sent me is perfectly good, but *it appears to us, in our present circumstances*, a little too difficult of execution. Let it be our first care to restore our shattered affairs in Catalonia, to press a vigorous war in those parts where it is already kindled; after that it will be time enough to commence new enterprises.

Our good nature has hitherto prompted us to do more than could be expected from our ability, and from what the Parliament (which has just finished its session) has done; I doubt not you are convinced that our good nature will not diminish.

I hope Mr. Whitworth is arrived at Vienna, pursuant to the Queen's orders, to execute a commission which to us appears of the utmost importance, and in which he will not be without the support of a minister so zealous and prudent as you are.

I recommend myself to the honour of your favour, and shall always be, &c.

To the Marquis du Bourg. (Page 282.)

SIR,

July 24th, 1711.

IT must be very pleasing to me to commence a correspondence with you, since I profess so much esteem for you, and am as zealous for the success of your negotiations as it is possible for man to be.

According to promise, I had written to a friend; probably he had no opportunity of discoursing with the Pensionary on the contents of my letter, or perhaps that minister wished to avoid acknowledging it, the better to evade entering upon the subject with you.

Count Maffei will not fail giving you an exact account of what passed at his two conferences with the Lords of the Council a few days ago. The Earl of Orrery, to prevent further loss of time, is ordered to speak to the Pensionary, not only concerning the marriage, but also upon the interests of his Royal Highness in the two cases of compatibility and incompatibility. He will explain the Queen's sentiments, and urge the concurrence of the Dutch, in such a manner as to inform us, by their answer, how far we may depend upon the States in this affair.

I am by no means surprized at the open jealousy which you have observed in the Pensionary, founded on the current reports about the peace, nor at that which Count Sinsendorf manifests with less reserve. But I must return you many thanks for the wise and correct answer you gave to both. If we have not supported the war like able politicians, we have at least carried it on like men of honour and perseverance; and we shall not lose this character in making the peace.

Mr. Whitworth has not been able to obtain a single man to reinforce his Royal Highness's army; his errand, however, in my opinion, will not be without its advantage. I beg you will believe that I am, &c.

To Prince Kurakin. (Page 284.)

SIR,

July 24th, 1711.

YOUR letter to the Duke of Queensbury, arriving after his death, has been transmitted to me. As the affairs of the North will in future pass through my hands, I should

should have rejoiced to enter upon a negociation with so able a Minister, and so accomplished a man as you are. Though it be our misfortune to lose you, yet I still beg of you to be assured, that your orders shall always be readily received, and that I will with pleasure take every opportunity of keeping up the good agreement between the two nations, and of proving my esteem for your person.

This is accompanied by a letter from the Queen, in answer to one she received from her Majesty the Czarina. The illness of the late Duke of Queensbury, his death, and the confusion inevitable upon such occasions, have prevented your receiving it before, according to the promise made to you. I am, &c.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 287.)

SIR,

Fontainebleau, August 3d, 1711.

MR. PRIOR's return to France, after an interval of many years, has given me great pleasure, and I could have wished that the abilities he possesses, and of which, I am confident, he would have made a proper use, had he been less restricted; I hope, Sir, that Monsieur Mesnager, who accompanies him back, will effect what he could not; and intreat you to believe that upon all occasions I desire to prove myself, &c.

To Monsieur d'Hervart. (Page 308.)

SIR,

August 8th, 1711.

YOU know well enough the business I have in hand to excuse me if your letters be not answered with the punctuality they deserve. I interest myself so much in every thing that concerns you, that the death of your son has greatly afflicted me. I will not weary you with my consolations; you are too much a Christian and a philosopher to want them.

Your reflections on the Pensionary's suspicions appear to me very just. Efforts have been made to kindle a jealousy both here and in Holland. Certain it is, they made no great impression upon us, and I hope the Ministers of the States will not be more distrustful than we are. That any disagreement between the maritime powers must be fatal to both, is an incontestable truth on our part, nothing

thing will be omitted tending to preserve the union of the two nations.

The voluntary offer of Monsieur de Torcy, to give up Dunkirk undemolished to us, is very extraordinary. One should look upon it as a ministerial trick, for the purpose of alarming the Dutch. I have often spoken of you to the Earl of Strafford, so that no inconvenience can happen; should he learn that you receive my letters through the channel of his Secretary. I am, &c.

From the Queen to the Dowager Electress of Saxony.
(Page 310.)

MADAM AND SISTER,

Windſor, Auguſt, 1710-11.

WHEN I determined upon ſending the Earl of Peterborough to Germany, one of the firſt commiſſions entrusted to him was to ſee you, to make my compliments to you, and to renew my aſſurances of moſt perfect eſteem and moſt tender friendſhip. I avail myſelf of this opportunity to expreſs to you the extreme ſorrow I felt at the report that the Electoral Prince, my couſin, was about to change his religion: God forbid that we ſhould ever experience ſuch a miſfortune, as to ſee the eſtabliſhment of Popery in the Houſe of Saxony, which has at all times been the firm pillar of the Proteſtants.

I hope you will take in good part the frankneſs with which I lay open the inmoſt ſentiments of my heart, and that you will believe me to be, Madam and Siſter,

Your moſt affectionate Siſter,

ANNE R.

To Marſhal de Tallard. (Page 312.)

SIR,

Auguſt 9th, 1711.

I RECEIVED your letter of the 14th inſt. N.S. together with the duplicate of that which you did me the honour to write three weeks ago. The firſt came in due time, but I muſt ingenuouſly acknowledge, that I could not ſummon reſolution to anſwer it, until I could with certainty promiſe to ſend you the Queen's leave to go to France. Excuse this delicacy, though you judge it ill-founded, and do me the juſtice to believe that no other motive

motive could influence me in neglecting to write to you. For once, trust a man who has not the honour of being much known to you, but who will deceive nobody. I am in great hopes of obtaining, in a short time, your liberty upon your parole, and I assure you that the obstacles that have occurred to so just and equitable a request, did not originate here. I am, &c.

Please to observe that the latter part of this letter is solely for yourself.

To Baron de Seckingen. (Page 330.)

SIR,

Whitehall, August 22nd, 1711.

BARON de Forstner did me great justice, when he assured you that I still preserve that friendship for you, which I have always avowed ever since our first acquaintance at Milan. It is true, I retired to the country for three years; it is also true, that there I passed my time in study and rural amusements, without ever regretting the Court, or that smiling fortune which once flattered my ambition. But when it pleased her Majesty to recal me to her service, I returned to business with a pleasure equal to that I experienced in my retirement. Such is my history; and I thought our old friendship required this account from me.

Preserve your affection for me, and be assured that, on my part, I shall, during life, retain the pleasing remembrance of those happy days we passed together, and shall ever be, &c.

To his Royal Highness the Duke of Lorain. (Page 331.)

MY LORD,

Whitehall, August 22nd, 1711.

MY humble endeavours to show my zeal in your Highness's service do not deserve the honour you have done me by your letter of the 4th of last month. The Queen has so much esteem and friendship for your Highness, and is so convinced of the justice of your pretensions, that I must not assume a merit that does not belong to me; any assistance of mine in this respect would be useless with her Majesty.

Monfieur de Steinghens is a minister whom I have long known, and for whom I entertain a high consideration;

he will be always welcome to me, but can never be of much so, as when he affords me the opportunity of showing with how great respect and attachment, I am, &c.

To Baron de Forstner. (Page 332.)

SIR,

Whitehall, August 22nd, 1711.

YOU are too obliging, and pay me compliments ill-suited to the little civilities I have been able to show you during your stay in London. To do myself justice, I should be ashamed that I have not done more to mark the respect I have for you, and the character you appeared in, did I not know that the incessant series of business in which I am engaged, would be an excuse with a person so considerate as you are. Monsieur de Steinghens will have only to afford me the means of being useful to the Duke of Lorain; in zeal and good-will I shall never be deficient.

The Earl of Peterborough, who is going to watch the interest of her Majesty, and of the common cause in the empire, has, among others, instructions on this subject; he will not fail to insist thereupon, and I hope his conduct will meet your approval.

Permit me to renew my assurances of eternal remembrance, and of that perfect esteem which will be preserved for you by, &c.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 341.)

SIR,

August 29th, 1711.

I COULD not suffer M. Gaultier to leave us, without availing myself of the opportunity to thank you humbly for the honour of your letter which Mr. Prior delivered, and to assure you that there is nothing I desire more ardently than the continuance of writing to you, and of receiving your letters.

You will allow me to refer to the account you will have from M. Mesnager in writing, and from M. Gaultier *viva voce*; and I assure you that I am, with much esteem, &c.

From

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 352.)

S I R,

Verfailles, September 18th, 1711.

THE letter you did me the honour to write, and which M. Gaultier conveyed to me, has given me a sensible pleasure. I entreat you to believe that my wishes for the speedy return of more peaceable and happier times are not less warm than your's. I may then study the honour of your friendship, and endeavour to make known to you how perfectly I am, &c.

To Baron Bothmar. (Page 354.)

S I R,

Whitehall, September 14th, 1711.

I DID not fail to inform the Queen of the substance of your letter of the 8th instant; and her Majesty judges his Electoral Highness's demands and apprehensions to be so well founded, that her orders have been sent to the Duke of Marlborough to concert means for withdrawing the cavalry and dragoons as insensibly, and with as little bustle as possible; an object of very great importance, as it has been well foreseen by your Court. I beg you will believe that I seize with pleasure every occasion of supporting a correspondence with you; and that I feel a happiness whenever I can show my zeal for the service of his Electoral Highness. I am, &c.

The Lord Treasurer did himself the honour of answering his Electoral Highness's letter by the last post.

To Monsieur d' Hervart. (Page 359.)

S I R,

Whitehall, September 18th, 1711.

I OWE you my acknowledgments for two letters, of which the last, that of the 22nd, N.S. arrived this morning. They turn upon two points, the mission of M. Buys to this country, and the reports abroad in Holland of a negotiation for peace between the Queen and the King of France.

With respect to the first, I will tell you, that any man whom the Dutch themselves shall judge proper to be sent, at this juncture, to her Majesty, shall be welcome, and

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M. Buys

M. Buys as much so as any other person. Our proceeding will be always plain and clear; and if they are not afraid that we may be truer Englishmen than our predecessors in the ministry, they will not have the smallest reason to apprehend our becoming less affectionate or zealous allies.

As to the other point, I can only say two words; but I believe you will find them comprehensive; that the Queen will never make peace with France, as the Dutch did at Nimeguen; she has sustained this war, as well as the last, in concert with the States; in like manner, she designs to treat of peace; in both she will forward their interest as much as lies in her power, and she will not be unmindful of her own. I am, &c.

Since I wrote the above, your's of the 27th, N.S. is come to hand; by which I find that, in all probability, M. Buys will not delay his visit to us.

In a Note. (Page 361.)

MR. Prior is fully instructed and authorised to communicate our preliminary demands to France, and to report the answer to us.

To Monsieur de Paleotti. (Page 362.)

S I R,

Whitehall, September 21st, 1711.

WITH this you will receive a letter from her Majesty to the Catholic King, in your favour; I hope you will experience from it every success that can be expected from so powerful a support, and so strong a recommendation. By the post of this evening I shall write to the Earl of Peterborough, the Queen's minister at Frankfort, on your account; he is in great friendship with the Duke of Shrewsbury, and will not fail to employ it assiduously in promoting your interest, which I desire you will believe I have much at heart; and that I shall always be, with much esteem, &c.

In a Note. (Page 374.)

The Answer of France to the Preliminary Demands for Great Britain, more particularly.

THE King being particularly informed by the last memorial which the British Minister delivered to M. Mesnager,

Mefnager, of the difpofitions of that Crown to facilitate a general peace, to the fatisfaction of all parties concerned in the war: And his Majefty finding in effect, as the faid memorial declares, that he runs no hazard by engaging himfelf in the manner therein declared, fince the preliminary articles will be of no force until the figning of the general peace, and being befides fincerely defirous to advance, to the utmoft of his power, the reftablifhment of the repofe of Europe, efpecially by a way fo agreeable to his Majefty, as the interpoftion of a Princefs, whom fo many ties of blood ought to unite to him, and whose fentiments for the public tranquillity cannot be doubted.

His Majefty, moved by thefe confiderations, has ordered M. Mefnager, Knight of his Order of St. Michael, Deputy of the Council of Commerce, to give the following answers, in writing, to the articles contained in the memorial transmitted to him, intituled, Preliminary Demands of Great Britain, more particularly.

Answers of the King.

Preliminary Demands for Great Britain, particularly.

(1) His Majefty will acknowledge the King of Great Britain in that quality; as alfo, the fucceffion of that Crown according to the prefent eftablifhment.

(2) The King confents to make a new treaty of commerce with Great Britain, in a manner moft juft, reasonable, and advantageous to both nations.

(3) Although Dunkirk has coft his Majefty very large fums, as well in the purchafe of it as in its fortifications, and though it be neceffary ftill to be at a confiderable charge to deftroy the works, the King will nevertheless engage to demolifh them immediately after

(1) The fucceffion to the Crown of thefe kingdoms, according to the prefent eftablifhment, fhall be acknowledged.

(2) A new treaty of commerce between Great Britain and France fhall be made in the moft juft and reasonable manner.

(3) Dunkirk fhall be demolished.

after the conclusion of a peace, provided that, for the fortifications of this place, he receive a proper equivalent; and as England cannot furnish that equivalent, the discussion of it shall be deferred to the conferences to be held for the negotiation of a general peace.

(4) The King promises, in the name of his grandson, the King of Spain, and pursuant to the power which his Majesty has received from that Prince, that Gibraltar and Port Mahon shall remain in the hands of the English, who at present possess both.

(5) After the conclusion of peace, the English shall have the treaty of Guinea Negroes to the West Indies, otherwise called the Pacte d'Assiento, on the same conditions as were entered into by the King of Spain with the French; so that the company, which will consequently be established in England, shall be privileged to refresh, sell, and dispose of the negroes in all the towns and ports of America, of the North Sea, in Buenos Ayres, and generally in all places and ports where permission was granted to the vessels of the company established in France, under the title of the *Assiento*.

(6) The King promises for himself and for the King
of

(4) Gibraltar and Port Mahon shall remain in the hands of those who now possess them.

(5) The Treaty of the *Assiento* shall be made with the English, in the same manner as the French hold it at present; and such places in Spanish America shall be assigned to those concerned in the traffic, for the refreshment and sale of their negroes, as shall be found necessary and convenient.

(6) All advantages, rights, and privileges, now granted;

of Spain, according to the power in his Majesty's hands, that, in case a peace is concluded, this article shall be granted, in like manner as the preceding; and that it shall be punctually executed.

or which may be hereafter granted, by Spain to the subjects of France, or of any other nation whatever, shall be, in like manner, granted to the subjects of Great Britain.

(7) And for the better protection of commerce in Spanish America, the English shall be there put into possession of such places as shall be named in the treaty of peace. France having offered a real security for the trade of her Majesty's subjects in Spanish America, no one doubted that such places were intended; and in confirmation of this opinion, France proposed Gibraltar as a security to the commerce to Spain and the Mediterranean: the advantages and privileges offered by M. Mesnager cannot be considered as real securities; it will always be in the power of Spain to resume them; therefore it is supposed that France is under an engagement, either to cause to be ceded to Great Britain the places demanded in that article, or to procure for that nation some new advantages, such as the love of peace may induce them to look upon as an equivalent; upon this they consider themselves as under an obligation to insist that the Minister aforesaid be furnished with full powers. And to mark still

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plainer the sincerity with which the treaty is carried on, and the desire of her Britannic Majesty to promote a general peace, she judges it expedient to declare, that the difficulty which occurs upon that article may be removed by granting to her the following :

That the *Pacte d'Affiento* be made with Great Britain, for the term of 30 years.

Though the King of Spain, at the beginning of his reign, was induced to favour the French nation, when he wanted supplies of money for the expences of an impending war, that prince notwithstanding granted the privilege of transporting negroes to the French, for the term of ten years only ; it would therefore be a great favour to the English to give up to them, for 20 years, a prerogative, of which it seems all European nations would wish to partake, each in its turn. Nevertheless his Majesty promises that the King, his grandson, shall grant to the English, during twenty successive years, the transportation of negroes from Guinea to the West Indies, otherwise called the *Pacte d'Affiento*, with the same conditions, prerogatives, and privileges granted to the French company, and which they do or might enjoy from the 1st May, 1702, to the present time.

The King consents to this article.

That the entire Island of St. Christopher be assured to Great Britain.

His

That

His Majesty, in like manner, promises, in the name of the King of Spain, the advantages and exemptions from duties mentioned in that article, and which the English shall enjoy immediately after the conclusion of the peace, upon the exchange of the ratifications.

The general peace being effected, an assignment shall be made to the English Asiento Company of an extent of land on the River de la Plata, where they may not only refresh their negroes, but keep them in safety, until they be sold, according to the conditions stipulated in the agreement to be entered into for the Asiento. And to prevent any abuse of this concession, the King of Spain will nominate an officer as superintendant, to whose inspection those interested in the company, and, in general, those employed in their service, shall be subject.

(8) The discussion of this article shall be deferred to the general conferences for the peace, it being well understood that the right of fishing and drying cod upon the island of Newfoundland be reserved to the French.

That the advantages and exemptions from duties promised by M. Mesnager, and which he affirms to amount to 15 *per cent.* on all merchandize of the growth or manufacture of Great Britain, be effectually allowed.

Great Britain can refresh the negroes at Jamaica, and there distribute those to be sent to la Vera Cruz, to Portobello, and to the other factories in that part of the Indies. But as on the coast of the River de la Plata, the English have no colony, it is required that an extent of land be assigned upon this river, where they may not only refresh their negroes, but keep them in safety until they be sold to the Spaniards. And as in this demand no trick is meant, they shall be in this respect subject to the inspection of an officer to be appointed for this purpose by the King of Spain.

(8) Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay and Straits shall be completely restored to the English. Great Britain and France shall respectively keep and possess all the countries, domains, and territories in North America, that each nation shall be in possession of at the time when the ratification of this treaty shall be published in those parts of the world.

In

In execution of the King's orders, we, the undersigned, Knight of his order of St. Michael, Deputy of the Council of Commerce, have stated the present answer to the preliminary demands for Great Britain, to the amount of eight articles, by virtue of authority from his Majesty, of which we have delivered a copy, signed by us; and we promise, in the name of his said Majesty, that the said answers shall be regarded as conditions which he agrees to grant, the articles of which shall be put into the common form of treaties, and explained in the plainest and most intelligible manner, to the common satisfaction of the crowns of France and Great Britain, and this in case of the signing of a treaty for a general peace. In faith of which we have signed and sealed. Done, &c.

The Most Christian King having signified to her Majesty his sincere desire for the re-establishment of the general tranquillity of Europe, by a peace, definitive, sure, lasting, and suitable to the interests of all the allies, and having expressed his desire, that the Queen would promote the negociation of such a peace, it has been found just and reasonable that the interests of Great Britain should be, in the first place, adjusted and ascertained: on this account his Most Christian Majesty having sent over M. Mesnager, Knt. &c. he has stated the above eight articles, by authority from his Most Christian Majesty; a copy of which he has given us, signed by him; of which articles we, the undersigned, declare, by virtue of the express order of her Majesty, her acceptance, as preliminaries, which contain only those securities and advantages which her Majesty thinks she has a right to expect, whoever be the Prince who may acquire the monarchy of Spain. And these articles must be regarded as condition which his Most Christian Majesty agrees to grant. These articles to be put into the common form of treaties, &c. &c.

Done at London, 27th September, O.S....8th October,
N.S. 1711.

DARTMOUTH,
H. ST. JOHN,
MESNAGER.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 386.)

SIR,

Whitehall, October 2d, 1711.

THIS letter will be presented to you by M. Mesnager, who, having discharged the commission entrusted to him
by

by the King, returns to you, to give an account of his negociation. I doubt not you participate in the pleasure we feel, when we see those difficulties removed which have so long impeded the re-establishment of public tranquillity. I dare promise you our good faith, and our facility, which, if seconded by the same disposition on the part of France, cannot fail to produce the happy consequence we expect; but such promises must be regarded as unnecessary after those given to M. Mesnager, by her Majesty herself. The Earl of Srafford to-morrow sets off for Holland, his proposal to the States, your Minister is well informed of.

I am, &c.

In a Note. (Page 403.)

Preliminary Articles on the Part of France for the Attainment of a General Peace.

THE King being willing to contribute all that is in his power to the re-establishment of a general Peace, his Majesty declares :

1st, That he will acknowledge the Queen of Great Britain in that quality, as well as the succession to the crown according to the present settlement.

2d, That he will feely, and *bonâ fide*, consent to the taking all just and reasonable measures, to prevent the re-union of the crowns of France and Spain on the head of the same Prince ; his Majesty being persuaded that that excess of power would be contrary to the welfare and peace of Europe.

3d, The King's intention is, that all the parties engaged in the present war, without excepting any one, may find their reasonable satisfaction in the treaty of peace to be made ; that commerce may be re-established and maintained, for the future, to the advantage of Great Britain, of Holland, and of the other nations who have been accustomed to carry it on.

4th, As the King will also strictly support the observance of the peace, when concluded ; and as the object of his Majesty is to secure the frontiers of his kingdom, without molesting, in the smallest degree, the neighbouring States ; he promises to agree, by the future treaty of peace, that the Dutch shall have in their possession the fortresses which shall be named in the Netherlands, to serve, in future, as their barrier, which may secure the quiet of the Republic of Holland against any enterprize from France.

th, The

5th, The King consents likewise, that a secure and convenient barrier should be formed for the empire, and for the House of Austria.

6th, Though Dunkirk has cost the King large sums, as well in its purchase as in its fortification; and though it be necessary still to be at very considerable expence to raze the works, his Majesty will nevertheless engage to demolish them, after the conclusion of the peace, on condition that he do receive a proper equivalent for the fortifications of that place; and as England cannot provide that equivalent, the discussion shall be deferred to the conferences to be held for the negotiation of a peace.

7th, When the conferences for the negotiation of the peace shall be formed, all the pretensions of the Princes and States engaged in the present war, shall be there discussed, *bonâ fide* and amicably, and nothing shall be omitted to regulate and terminate them to the satisfaction of all parties.

By virtue of the King's authority, we, &c.

MESNAGER.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 451.)

SIR,

Versailles, October 21st, 1713.

THE letter you honoured me with the 14th instant, afforded me as much pleasure in the reading as it gave you in writing it. I have no doubt of the happy consequences of that mutual confidence now establishing, and I can assure you, the King will contribute all in his power to strengthen it. It is an easy task for those who find their interest in public confusion, to awaken and encourage distrust; but it is likewise as easy to do it away, when both sides are desirous of peace and union. I hope, Sir, we shall soon experience the happy effect of this reciprocal sincerity; you shall always find it in the explanations you may be pleased to require of me, whether at present, or in the sequel of the negotiation. In the King you will also find that firmness which the Queen of Great Britain can desire, to procure for the English the enjoyment of the advantages agreed upon.

I am persuaded that, on the side of her Britannic Majesty, that firmness will not be less, to accomplish the work of peace, upon conditions advantageous to France and Eng-
land,

land, so that, in future, the two nations may be united in indissoluble bonds. I beg you will believe that no one is more desirous than I am of making known to you how much I am, &c.

The King has nominated the Marechal d'Uxelles, the Abbé Polignac, and M. Mesnager, his Plenipotentiaries to the conferences for the peace.

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 452.)

S I R,

Verfailles, November 2d, 1711.

AS the present situation of affairs requires our acting in perfect concert for the accomplishment of the work begun, I write to M. Gaultier, to know what measures the Queen of Great Britain shall judge proper to be taken, upon the refusal of the Dutch to enter into a conference for peace. Permit me to assure you, that I am, &c.

To the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 453.)

S I R,

Hampton-Court, October 22d, 1711.

I HAD answered your letter of the 21st October, N.S. when that of the 2d of November came to hand.

I will not repeat assurances of perfect sincerity; professions are useless, when occasions come round to call it to a trial. M. Gaultier, who conveys this letter, will at the same time describe to you the present situation of the affairs of the peace.

It is an easy task for those who find their interest in public confusion (I use your expression, Sir) to awaken and encourage distrust; this is what the disaffected, here and every where else are labouring at. I am, however, under no great apprehension on that account, as it only depends upon the Most Christian King to render all their efforts useless. The explanations you promise me, will dispel these clouds, and you will believe we shall use these lights with great caution, when I assure you, that were the King to offer, as he formerly did, a plan of specific preliminaries, the Queen would never communicate them to her allies. I conclude with an assurance, that provided M. Gaultier return with this proof of your confidence, of which I entertain no doubt, you will find our parliament, now about to assemble, as much inclined to the peace as it has ever been to the war. I am, &c.

From

From the Marquis de Torcy. (Page 474.)

SIR,

Verfailles, November 18th, 1711.

I HAVE received the honour of your letter, by M. Gaultier, the 9th inst. and I believe you will be persuaded, that the King observes, with much pleasure, these fresh instances of the Queen's firmness for the re-establishment of a good and sure peace.

I hope, Sir, such sincere and equitable intentions will experience that success which we have a right to expect, for the quiet of Europe. You will see by the memorial which M. Gaultier will have the honour to deliver, that the King is unmindful of nothing, for the happy accomplishment of a negociation so well begun; and that his Majesty depends upon the secrecy and the proper use you will observe, in this instance, of entire confidence reposed in the Queen of Great Britain.

The favourable inclinations of the approaching sessions of parliament will complete the downfall of their hopes who are for the continuance of the war, at the expence of the welfare of the nation; and you do your country no small service, by your labours, to conclude a peace, wherein she will find her glory and her advantage. I beg you to believe, &c.

END OF VOL. I.







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